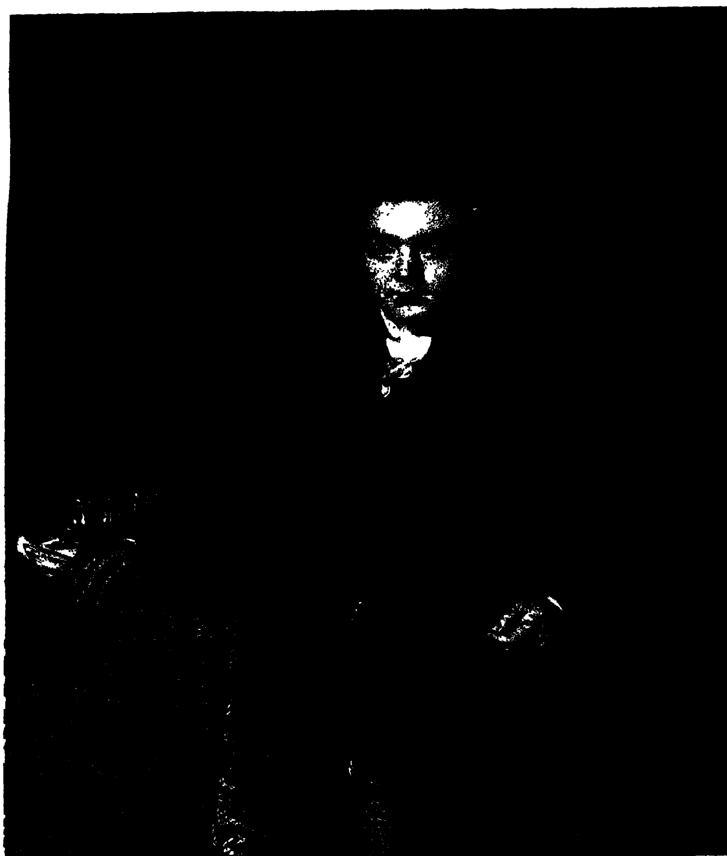


MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.

BY HIS SON-IN-LAW,

THE REV. WILLIAM HANNA, LL.D.

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE reader will be pleased at finding that in so many of the following pages Dr. Chalmers becomes his own biographer. I have done little more than select, arrange, and weave into a continuous narrative those materials which his family already possessed, or which friends and correspondents have kindly presented. In doing so, I was relieved of one difficulty, frequently the greatest with which a relative who undertakes a biography has to contend: there has been no conflict between what was due to truth, and what was due to affection or to relationship. The nearer that Dr. Chalmers was approached, and the more that was seen of him in the retired and most familiar scenes of life, the deeper was the love and veneration which he awakened; the more minute, exact, and faithful in all respects the narrative of his life can be rendered, it will only excite the more affectionate admiration, while more fully accomplishing the still higher object of making his life subservient in representation, to the high Christian ends to which it was consecrated in act.

The narrative of this volume includes what may be regarded as the period of growth and preparation. That growth, in all

its parts, was natural and unencumbered; having an ease and a freedom which bestowed on it both beauty and strength. In none of the developments, whether mental, moral, or spiritual, was there anything *forced*,—anything in the slightest degree artificial. Although enjoying the benefit of University instruction, intellectually he was self-educated: although brought up in the bosom of a religious family, he came at length to derive his Christianity purely and solely from the Sacred Oracles. The education and discipline of his first thirty years—his early prejudices against the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel—his devotedness to scientific pursuits—the manner of his conversion—his opening ministry at Kilmany, all conspired to qualify him for the arduous and successful labours of after-life; and, while tracing and admiring the manner in which this vessel of honour was fitted for his Master's service, the devout and intelligent reader will not rise from the perusal of such a narrative as the following without having his conviction deepened that "the germs of a noble temper and of moral sensitiveness have never been wanting in the conformation of men whose after-life has entitled them, in any true sense of the word, to be styled great; for although the grace of heaven may often make the wicked good, yet its province is not to make the little great; those who are to be such, are born—not made."*

I shall hereafter have occasion to return my most sincere acknowledgments to those who have been kind enough to aid me in executing that very difficult and most important task with which I have been entrusted; but as the eye of the reader will already have informed him how much this volume

* Loyola and Jesuitism, by Isaac Taylor, p. 21.

owes as to its outward aspect to the taste of Mr. Constable, I cannot refrain from seizing the present opportunity of saying how gratifying it has been to Dr. Chalmers's Trustees that the Copyright of all his Writings, as well as of these Memoirs, should have become the property of one who, beyond the commercial interest which he must necessarily take in them, cherishes so hallowed a remembrance of their Author, and is animated by so strong a desire that those great Christian principles, which it is their chief object to inculcate and recommend, should have power and prevail.

W. H.

CHURCHHILL, *November* 26, 1849.

MEMOIRS

OF

THOMAS CHALMERS, D.D. LL.D.



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CHAPTER I.

BIRTHPLACE—GENEALOGY—CHILDHOOD—COLLEGE LIFE—LICENSE.

Two hundred years ago the small borough towns which stud the south-east coast of the county of Fife were flourishing sea-ports,—their numerous dye-works, and malt-steeps, and salt-pans, giving token of a busy internal industry, while they carried on a large and profitable trade with Holland, France, and Spain. Anstruther, one of these towns, had not reached its highest point of prosperity when James Melville was its minister; and yet he tells us, that when, in 1588, a public collection was made for the French Refugee Protestants, 500 merks—one-twentieth part of what the whole of Scotland contributed—was raised in Anstruther and the three small landward parishes which at that time were annexed to it.* The union, first of the two crowns, and afterwards of the two kingdoms, opened up the intercourse with France to Scotland's wealthier neighbour, and cut off that coasting contraband

* See Autobiography and Diary of James Melville, p. 265.

trade, as well as that exporting of malt and salt to England, in which Anstruther, and the other Fifeshire seaports, were extensively engaged. Under the many depressing influences to which during the course of last century they were subjected, their commercial prosperity waned away almost to extinction. They were however destined, during that very period, to win a far higher distinction than they lost; for to three of them, and these lying within a few miles of each other along the coast, belongs the honour of having given birth to three of the most distinguished of Scotsmen; Kirkaldy having been the birthplace of Dr. Adam Smith, Largo of Sir John Leslie, and Anstruther of the subject of this Memoir.

With the county of Fife Dr. Chalmers' family had for some generations been connected. His great-grandfather, Mr. James Chalmers, son of John Chalmers, laird of Pitmedden, was ordained as minister of the parish of Elie in the year 1701. In the following year he married Agnes Merchiston, daughter of the Episcopal Clergyman of Kirkpatrick-Juxta, who had been ejected from his living at the period of the Revolution. Undistinguished by any superiority of talent, the simple kindliness of Mr. Chalmers' disposition endeared him to his parishioners, and there still lingers in the neighbourhood a remembrance of the familiar and affectionate intercourse which was carried on between minister and people. What the minister himself wanted in energy was amply made up by the vigorous activity of his wife. Brought up in the school of adversity, she had learned the lesson of a most thrifty economy. The estate of Radernie, purchased by her savings out of a slender income, which had to bear the burden of twelve children's education, still remains in the possession of one of her descendants, while in the after history of more than one member of her family the care with which she had watched over their infancy and education brought forth its pleasant fruits. Her

eldest daughter married Mr. Thomas Kay, minister of Kilrenny, a parish immediately adjoining to Anstruther. With the family at Kilrenny Manse, the family of Dr. Chalmers' father continued to maintain the closest intimacy. It was to Mrs. Kay's son-in-law, Dr. Adamson of St. Andrews, that Dr. Chalmers was himself indebted for his presentation to the living of Kilmany.

Mr. Chalmers' eldest son, the Rev. John Chalmers, D.D., succeeded his father as minister at Elie, but was afterwards translated to the parish of Kilconquhar. He inherited his mother's talent, and in his day was distinguished both as an eloquent preacher and an able and zealous advocate of that policy which then predominated within the Church of Scotland. Mr. Chalmers' second son, Mr. James Chalmers, having married Barbara Anderson, of Easter Anstruther, settled in that town as a dyer, ship-owner, and general merchant. He was succeeded in a prosperous business by his second son, Mr. John Chalmers, who, in 1771, married Elizabeth Hall, the daughter of a wine-merchant at Crail. They had a very numerous family —nine sons and five daughters—of whom one only died in childhood. The following table is extracted from Mr. Chalmers' family record :—

JOHN CHALMERS and ELIZABETH HALL were married on the 20th August 1771. Children by said marriage :—

	Born.	Baptized.		Born.	Baptized.
1. James,	June 11, 1772,	June 14.	8. David,	May 31, 1783,	June 1.
2. Lucy,	Nov. 9, 1773,	Nov. 14.	9. John,	May 19, 1785,	May 22.
3. Barbara,	June 21, 1775,	June 25.	10. Helen,	Aug. 31, 1786,	Sept. 3.
4. George,	April 1, 1777,	April 6.	11. Jean,	June 29, 1788,	same day
5. William,	Aug. 31, 1778,	Sept. 6.	12. Patrick,	June 16, 1790,	June 20.
6. Thomas,	Mar. 17, 1780,	Mar. 19.	13. Charles,	Jan. 16, 1792,	Jan. 22.
7. Isabel,	Dec. 13, 1781,	Dec. 16.	14. Alexander,	April 9, 1794,	April 13.

Dr. Chalmers, the sixth child and fourth son in this crowded household, was born at Anstruther on Friday the 17th March

1780. His father announced the birth to his brother-in-law, Mr. Hall, then resident in London, in the following terms:—

ANSTRUTHER, 21*st March*, 1780.

"DEAR BROTHER,—I dare say this will await you in London, and I am happy that by it I can convey to you the agreeable intelligence of my dear Elizabeth being safely delivered of a fine boy on the morning of Friday the 17th. The little fellow is named Tom—I wish him as good a man as his name-father.* I can write with more spirit this day than I could have done for two days past. On Friday and Saturday my poor wife seemed very easy and doing well, but having got some cold it was attended with a feverishness on Sabbath which alarmed us a good deal; but I desire to bless His great name in whose hand is the life of every creature, and of whose mercy we may sing every day, that the fever is quite gone, and though she did not sleep very well last night, I hope the Almighty will recover her to serve Him, and be helpful to bring up her own children to be His servants after we have served our generation according to His will; which will, may it be the rule of yours and mine, and all belonging to us, to live agreeably thereunto. . . . —I conclude with assuring you that I am, dear Brother, yours affectionately, JOHN CHALMERS."

When two years old Dr. Chalmers was committed to the care of a nurse, whose cruelty and deceitfulness haunted his memory through life. In his latest years, and with a feeling of indignation as fresh as if he were describing an event of yesterday, he used to tell how inhumanly she treated him, and how, when his roused spirit could bear no more, and he was about to run and reveal his wrongs, she stopped him, and petted him, and poured over him a "perfect flood of affected

* Mr. Thomas Ballardie—married to Mr. John Chalmers' sister.

tenderness," extorting from him a promise that he would not tell,—and then, safe behind the extorted promise, treated him worse than ever. The promise was never broken; yet never could he forget the injustice of its exaction, or the cruelties of its abuse. And it had another effect—the treatment to which he was thus exposed—besides that of testing his own truthfulness, and enkindling a strong feeling of indignation, —it sent him at that early age to school, to which he went of his own accord, when only three years of age; not drawn by his love of learning, but driven by the fear of domestic persecution. Neither of his parents had much time to devote to the personal instruction of their children. The young scholar was left to imbibe—as he would, or as he could—the instructions of the school-room. These were not of a kind either to engender early habits of industry, or to quicken an early thirst for knowledge. The parish schoolmaster, Mr. Bryce, had a fair enough reputation as a Latin scholar, but his days as an effective teacher were over when Dr. Chalmers became his pupil. His sight, which afterwards he totally lost, was beginning to fail. Not so, however, his thirst for flogging, which grew with the decline, and survived the loss of vision. Eager in the pursuit, the sightless tyrant used to creep stealthily along behind a row of his little victims, listening for each indication given by word or motion of punishable offence, and ready, soon as ever the centre of emanation was settled, to inflict the avenging blow. But the quick-sighted urchins were too cunning for him, and soon fell upon a plan to defraud him of his prey. In the row opposite to that behind which the master took his furtive walk, one of the boys was set to watch, and whenever, by sudden stop or uplifted arm, any token of the intention to strike appeared, a preconcerted sign given quickly to the intended victim enabled him to slip at once but noiselessly out of his place, so that, to Mr.

Bryce's enraged discomfiture, and to the no small amusement of his scholars, his best aimed blows fell not unfrequently upon the hard unflinching desk. Though he continued for many years afterwards to preside, Mr. Bryce had furnished himself with an assistant, Mr. Daniel Ramsay, afterwards parochial schoolmaster at Corstorphine, to whose care all the younger children were in the first instance consigned. The assistant was as easy as his superior was harsh. As teachers they were about equally inefficient. Mr. Ramsay sought distinction in his profession by becoming the author of a treatise on "Mixed Schools." His work won for him but little reputation, and an unfortunate act, in which perhaps there was more imprudence than guilt, lost him his situation, and plunged him in poverty. For many years Dr. Chalmers contributed regularly for his support. His latter days were spent in Gillespie's Hospital, where he died about four years ago. The Rev. Dr. Steven, who visited him frequently while upon his deathbed, in a letter with which I have been favoured, says,—"On one occasion he spoke to me in a very feeling manner indeed of Dr. Chalmers, and the impression made upon my mind was such that I have not yet forgotten the words which he employed. 'No man,' exclaimed he, 'knows the amount of kindness which I have received from my old pupil. He has often done me good both as respects my soul and my body—many a pithy sentence he uttered when he threw himself in my way—many a pound-note has the Doctor given me, and he always did the thing as if he were afraid that any person should see him. May God reward him!' The feeble old man was quite overpowered, and wept like a child when he gave utterance to these words."*

* There had been a dash of eccentricity about Ramsay. Some years ago when the whole powers of the empire lodged for a short time in the single hand of the Duke of Wellington, he wrote to his Grace in the true dominie spirit, but with almost

By those of his school-fellows, few now in number, who survive, Dr. Chalmers is remembered as one of the idlest, strongest, merriest, and most generous-hearted boys in Anstruther school. Little time or attention would have been required from him to prepare his daily lessons, so as to meet the ordinary demands of the school-room; for when he did set himself to learn, not one of all his school-fellows could do it at once so quickly and so well. When the time came, however, for saying them, the lessons were often found scarcely half-learned—sometimes not learned at all. The punishment inflicted in such cases was to send the culprit into the coal-hole, to remain there in solitude till the neglected duty was discharged. If many of the boys could boast over Thomas Chalmers that they were seldomer in the place of punishment—none could say that they got more quickly out of it. Joyous, vigorous, and humorous, he took his part in all the games of the play-ground—ever ready to lead or to follow, when school-boy expeditions were planned and executed; and wherever for fun or for frolic any little group of the merry-hearted was gathered, his full, rich laugh might be heard rising amid their shouts of glee. But he was altogether unmischievous in his mirth. He could not bear that either falsehood or blasphemy should mingle with it. His own greater strength he always used to defend the weak or the injured, who looked to him as their natural protector; and whenever in its heated overflow play passed into passion, he hastened from the ungenial region, rushing once into a

as much wisdom as wit—that he could tell him how to do the most difficult thing he had in hand, namely, to cure the ills of Ireland; he should just take, he told him, "the taws in the tae hand, and the Testament in the tither." Engrossed as he was, the Duke sent an acknowledgment signed by himself, and for some time it was difficult to say which of the two Daniel Ramsay was proudest of—having taught Dr. Chalmers, and so laid, as he was always accustomed to boast, the foundation of his fame—or having instructed the Duke of Wellington as to the best way of governing Ireland, and having got an answer from the Duke himself.

neighbouring house, when a whole storm of muscle-shells was flying to and fro, which the angry little hands that flung them meant to do all the mischief that they could ; and exclaiming, as he sheltered himself in his retreat, " I'm no for powder and ball," a saying which the good old woman, beside whose ingle he found a refuge, was wont, in these later years, to quote in his favour when less friendly neighbours were charging him with being a man of strife, too fond of war.

The ability to read, very soon acquired by him, was speedily turned to other than school purposes. Among the books earliest read, the two which took the strongest hold upon his thoughts, filling and swelling out his childish imagination, were Gaudentia di Lucca and the Pilgrim's Progress. He has himself told us of other impressions made at the same period. Writing more than fifty years afterwards, he says :—" I feel quite sure that the use of the sacred dialogues as a school-book, and the pictures of Scripture scenes which interested my boyhood, still cleave to me, and impart a peculiar tinge and charm to the same representations when brought within my notice."* Even before he could himself read its stories, or understand thoroughly any of its pictured scenes, some of the sayings of the Bible had fallen upon an ear which felt, even in infancy, the charm which dwells in the cadence of choice and tender words. He was but three years old, when one evening, after it had grown dark, missed and sought for, he was found alone in the nursery, pacing up and down, excited and absorbed, repeating to himself as he walked to and fro the words of David —" O my son Absalom ! O Absalom, my son, my son !"

Though both parents were decidedly pious—his father, all through life, particularly and pre-eminently so—yet it does not appear that the Bible had made upon him any deeper impression than that which the beauty of its language and the pathos

* Horæ Quot., vol. i. p. 20.

of its narratives were so well fitted to imprint upon so susceptible a mind and heart. Almost as soon, however, as he could form or announce a purpose, he declared that he would be a minister. He saw and heard too much of ministers not to have early suggested to him the idea of becoming one; and as soon as it was suggested, it was embraced. The sister of one of his school-fellows at Anstruther still remembers breaking in upon her brother and him, in a room to which they had retired together, and finding the future great pulpit orator (then a very little boy) standing upon a chair and preaching most vigorously to his single auditor below. He had not only resolved to be a minister—he had fixed upon his first text—"Let brotherly love continue." Altogether, though the school did little for him, and his parents' wishes and prayers as to his spiritual estate were as yet ungranted, that free, fresh, unconstrained, social, and happy boyhood spent by him at Anstruther was not without its fruits; nor can we tell how much, in the building up of his natural character during these earlier years, was due to the silent impress of parental example, or to that insensible education, more important and influential by far than the education of the school-room, daily carried on by the general spirit and order of a well-regulated and very cheerful home.

In November 1791, whilst not yet twelve years of age, accompanied by his elder brother, William, he enrolled himself as a student in the United College of St. Andrews. He had but one contemporary there who had entered college at an earlier age, John, Lord Campbell, and the two youngest students became each, in future life, the most distinguished in his separate sphere. However it may have been in Lord Campbell's case, in Dr. Chalmers extreme youth was not compensated by any prematureness or superiority of preparation. A letter written to his eldest brother James, during the summer which succeeded his

first session at college, is still preserved—the earliest extant specimen of his writing. It abounds in errors both in orthography and grammar, and abundantly proves that the work of learning to write his own tongue with ordinary correctness had still to be begun. His knowledge of the Latin language was equally defective—unfitting him during his first two sessions to profit as he might otherwise have done from the prelections of that distinguished philosophical grammarian, Dr. John Hunter, who was then the chief ornament of St. Andrews University. "My first acquaintance with Dr. Chalmers," writes the Rev. Mr. Miller,* "was in November 1791, when we entered the University of St. Andrews together. He was at that time very young, and volatile, and boyish, and idle in his habits, and like the rest of us in those days, but ill prepared by previous education for reaping the full benefit of a college course. I think that during the first two sessions a great part of his time must have been occupied (as mine was) in boyish amusements, such as golf, football, and particularly handball, in which latter he was remarkably expert, owing to his being left-handed. I remember that he made no distinguished progress in his education during these two sessions. The next year, being the third of our philosophical course, he and I lived together in the same room, and commenced in earnest the study of mathemathics, under the late Dr. James Brown, who was at that time assistant to Professor Vilant. Our only companion in doing all the exercises of the class was William Mitchell, a farmer's son from Duniface, who was licensed as a preacher, but died not long after. During our mathematical studies, we had occasion almost every night to be a short time in Dr. Brown's room, for the purpose of correcting our class-notes and exercises before being extended in our books, and there we met with the late Sir John Leslie and Mr. James Mylne, afterwards

* In MS. letter, dated Monikie, 6th July 1847.

Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, both of whom were considered in those days (like Dr. Brown) as marked men—ultra Whigs, keen Reformers, and what would now be called Radicals. . . . I have no doubt that Dr. Chalmers at that time gave signs of his more matured character in the earnestness and perseverance with which he prosecuted his favourite study. His character during all my acquaintance with him was that of the strictest integrity and warmest affection. He was enthusiastic and persevering in everything that he undertook—giving his whole mind to it, and often pursuing some favourite, or even as we thought, some foolish idea, whilst we were talking around him, and perhaps laughing at his abstraction, or breaking in upon his cogitations, and pronouncing him the next thing to mad; and then he would good-naturedly join in the merriment with his common, affectionate expression, 'Very well, my good lad.' I could mention very many instances of his particular attachment to myself, and of his affectionate recollections of our early associations, which proved no small cause of amusement to both when we met in after years."

His third session at college, that of 1793-94, was Dr. Chalmers' intellectual birth-time. That intelligence which never afterwards knew a season of slumbering inactivity then awoke. That extreme ardour of impulse, and that strong force of will which had shown themselves from infancy took now a new direction, urging on and upholding him in his mathematical studies. It was better perhaps that a mind so excitable as his had not had an earlier intellectual development—that untaxed and unexhausted in childhood it should have been suffered (growing all the while in strength) to wait till a science, for which it had so strong a natural affinity, took hold of it, upon which its opening energies put themselves forth so spontaneously, so ardently, so undividedly, and so perseveringly. Dr. Chalmers was singularly

fortunate in the person who at that time discharged the duties of the mathematical professorship at St. Andrews. As he has himself told us in his preface to Mr. Coutts' Sermons, "The professor, Mr. Vilant, had long been a retired invalid, and his classes were taught for many years by a series of assistants, several of whom became afterwards more or less known in the world. The first was Mr. Glennie, author of a work on Projectiles. He was followed by West, who spent the greater part of his life as Rector in one of the parishes of Jamaica, and whose Treatise on Geometry has long been admired, both for its structure as a whole, and for the exceeding beauty of many of its demonstrations. He was succeeded by Dr. James Brown, for some time Professor of Natural Philosophy in Glasgow, a person of singularly varied accomplishments, and gifted with such powers of conversation as to have drawn forth the testimony from Dugald Stewart that he never met with any one who expressed himself with greater elegance, and at the same time with greater precision, on mathematical and metaphysical subjects." Sir James Ivory, Sir John Leslie, and Dr. James Brown, all studied together at St. Andrews, and were all pupils of Mr. West; and though Dr. Brown has not left behind him a reputation equal to that of his two pre-eminent class-fellows, this would seem to have been due to a constitutional infirmity, which constrained him, after a single year's trial, to relinquish the Chair of Natural Philosophy at Glasgow, and to retire into private life, rather than to any natural inferiority of talent. In common with all who enjoyed the benefit of his instructions, or were admitted to the privilege of his friendship, Dr. Chalmers retained throughout his afterlife the liveliest gratitude and affection towards him. Another of his pupils, Mr. Duncan, the present Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews, had, in 1833, dedicated to Dr. Brown his "Elements of Plane Geometry." Dr. Brown, while praising the volume in a letter to Dr. Chalmers,

had taken exception to the introduction of his own name. He received the following reply:—" I agree in all you say on the subject of Mr. Duncan's work, with the single exception of your remark upon its dedication, than which he could have done nothing more rightly and appropriately. It is the common feeling of us both, that whatever of the academic spirit, or of the purely academic enthusiasm either of us may possess, we are far more indebted for it to you than to all our other teachers put together. Of all my living instructors, I have ever reckoned first yourself, then Professor Robison of Edinburgh, and lastly, Dr. Hunter of St. Andrews, as far the most influential both in the formation of my taste and intellectual habits." Nor was this the temporary effusion of feeling evoked by having the object of it in presence. Three years afterwards, Dr. Brown was removed by death ; and in writing to his widow on that occasion, the sentiment is reiterated—" I cannot adequately express the deep emotion which I felt on receiving the melancholy intelligence of Dr. Brown's death—one of my most respected and earliest friends, and of whom I have often said, that of all the professors and instructors with whom I have ever had to do, he is the one who most powerfully impressed me, and to the ascendency of whose mind over me, I owe more in the formation of my tastes and habits, and in the guidance and government of my literary life, than to that of all the other academic men whose classes I ever attended. But in addition to his public lessons, I had the privilege of being admitted to a long intimacy with your departed husband, and enjoying the benefit, as well as the charm, of his most rich and eloquent conversation."* When such a teacher met with such a pupil, and had as the subject of his instructions such a science as mathematics, it was not wonderful that more than ordinary interest should be excited, and more than ordinary proficiency

* See Appendix A.

realized. Dr. Chalmers became excited and absorbed. Pure geometry had especial attractions for him. With the higher powers of the modern analysis he became afterwards familiarly acquainted; but he never lost his relish for the demonstrations of geometry, nor did he ever cease to think that from the closeness and consecutiveness of its successive steps, geometry furnished one of the very best instruments of intellectual training.

Other subjects, however, besides those of his favourite science, were pressed upon his notice, not so much by the prelections of the class-room, as by the conversation of Dr. Brown and his accomplished friends. Ethics and politics engaged much of their attention. Yielding to the impulses thus imparted, Dr. Chalmers, at the close of his philosophical studies, became deeply engaged with the study of Godwin's Political Justice, a work for which he entertained at that time a profound, and as he afterwards felt and acknowledged, a misplaced admiration. His father was a strict, unbending Tory, as well as a strict, and as he in his childhood fancied, a severe religionist. By the men among whom he was now thrown, and to whom he owed the first kindlings of his intellectual sympathies, Calvinism and Toryism were not only repudiated but despised. "St. Andrews" (we have his own testimony for it) "was at this time overrun with Moderatism, under the chilling influences of which we inhaled not a distaste only but a positive contempt for all that is properly and peculiarly gospel, insomuch that our confidence was nearly as entire in the sufficiency of natural theology as in the sufficiency of natural science."* It was not unnatural that, recoiling from the uncompromising and unelastic political principles with which he had been familiar at Anstruther, and unfortified by a strong individual faith in the Christian salvation, he should have felt the power of that charm

* Preface to Mr. Coutts' Sermons.

which the high talent of Leslie and Brown and Milne threw around the religious and political principles which they so sincerely and enthusiastically espoused; that his youthful spirit should have kindled into generous emotion at the glowing prospects which they cherished as to the future progress of our species, springing out of political emancipation; and that he should have admitted the idea that the religion of his early home was a religion of confinement and intolerance—unworthy of entertainment by a mind enlightened and enlarged by liberal studies. From the political deviation into which he was thus temporarily seduced, he soon retreated: from the religious, it needed many years and other than human influences to recall him.

In November 1795, he was enrolled as a student of Divinity. Theology, however, occupied but little of his thoughts. During the preceding autumn he had learned enough of the French language to enable him to read fluently and intelligently the authorship in that tongue, upon the higher branches of mathematics. His favourite study he prosecuted with undiminished ardour. Not even the powerful spell of one of the ablest of theological lecturers—to whose ability he afterwards rendered so full a tribute of praise—could win him away from his mathematical devoteeism. The present venerable minister of Kilsyth, the Rev. Mr. Burns, who entered the Divinity Hall along with him, writes as follows:—"He had got the idea strongly into his mind, that the orthodoxy of the lecturer was formed in conformity to the Standards, rather than as the truth most surely believed. The professor had expressed the sentiment that Calvinism should not be too broadly brought forward in pulpit addresses, lest it should be repulsive. Chalmers said to me, 'If it be truth, why not be above-board with it?' I think he added, 'you are a sincere Calvinist. There is none in St. Andrews that I know. Come down to Anstruther with me on

a Saturday, and see my father and Mr. Hodges, (a venerable elder with whom I was acquainted.) They all agree with you.' I referred to a very able lecture which the Professor had delivered a day or two previously, as a really masterly defence of one of the deepest points of Calvinistic doctrine, upon the scheme of Jonathan Edwards. I was surprised when he said, 'I was not paying attention to it, but thinking of something else,' probably following out some mathematical problem. 'Why,' I said, 'did you not attend to a disquisition so able?' 'Because,' he answered, 'I question the sincerity of the lecturer.' The exercise of mere intellectual power without heart, seemed to have no power to suspend his favourite study. He most certainly passed through that year's curriculum without making entry on the theological field, and there can be no doubt that his system did not go beyond sublime ideas of the Divine Omnipresence, Omnipotence, Omniscience, and Goodness, and the grandeur, extent, and variety of His works, combined with some lively conceptions of the character, the teaching, and the example of the author of Christianity."*

Though a disquisition by Dr. Hill on the scheme of Jonathan Edwards was thus listened to idly and in vain, very different was the treatment which towards the close of the same session the writings of that great metaphysician and divine received. Speaking of this period, Professor Duncan says, "He studied Edwards on Free Will with such ardour, that he seemed to regard nothing else, could scarcely talk of any thing else, and one was almost afraid of his mind losing its balance." Edwards' theory of Necessity fell in with the reasonings of his earlier favourite Godwin, and was speedily adopted; and it was no cold assent of the understanding merely which was given to it. Planting his foot upon the truth, demonstrated as it seemed to him so irresistibly by Edwards—that fixed unalterable links bind to-

* MS. Memoranda.

gether the whole series of events in the spiritual as well as in the material universe, he rose to the sublime conception of the Godhead, as that eternal, all-pervading energy by which this vast and firmly knit succession was originated and sustained; and into a very rapture of admiration and delight his spirit was upborne Looking back to this period, twenty-four years afterwards, he writes:—

"*February 26th*, 1821.—O that He possessed me with a sense of His holiness and His love, as He at one time possessed me with a sense of His greatness and His power, and His pervading agency. I remember when a student of Divinity, and long ere I could relish evangelical sentiment, I spent nearly a twelvemonth in a sort of mental elysium, and the one idea which ministered to my soul all its rapture was the magnificence of the Godhead, and the universal subordination of all things to the one great purpose for which He evolved and was supporting creation. I should like to be so inspired over again, but with such a view of the Deity as coalesced and was in harmony with the doctrine of the New Testament."*

Alluding to this singular period in his mental history, he has told a member of his family that not a single hour elapsed in which the overpoweringly impressive imagination did not stand out bright before the inward eye; and that his custom was to wander early in the morning into the country, that, amid the quiet scenes of nature, he might luxuriate in the glorious conception.

The magnificent vision did, however, after some months depart. What helped perhaps to dissipate the intellectual spell under which he had been held was a visit which, in the summer of 1796, he paid to his eldest brother, James, then resident in the neighbourhood of Liverpool. A fragment of the journal which he kept during this visit is still preserved. It is

* MS. Letter to Mrs. Chalmers.

not the journal of a dreaming young philosophical enthusiast. We are struck with the entire absence of all those sentimental and imaginative remarks in which such youthful journalists indulge as happen to be of a poetic temperament. It bears no mark upon it either of the scene or the occupations whence the writer had emerged. No one on reading it could believe that for months before the writer had been rapt up to the very highest heaven of abstract thought, and had been breathing the air which circulates round one of the loftiest summits of speculation. Left to his own unaided conjecture, the reader of this journal might rather have imagined the writer to be some honest burgher's son who, going to settle as a merchant in the south, was keeping his eyes quite open to all the new objects which met him by the way, and looking at them with a very shrewd and penetrating glance. That the St. Andrews student, soaring almost intoxicated with delight amid the heights of one of the loftiest of human speculations, nearly lost to his wondering companions' vision, should be also the minute and faithful chronicler of every shift the wind made in the Frith of Forth, from Anstruther to Grangemouth, and of the exact number of locks in the Forth and Clyde canal, how many ascended from the one river and how many from the other, and of the precise number of steps in the stairs of Dunbarton Castle, and of the rates at which for many preceding years the population and the shipping and the dock-dues of Liverpool had increased, and of the relative proportion between the ploughed and the pasture lands in Cheshire, &c., &c.—this was but one early illustration of the speculative and the practical, in him so strikingly blended and combined.

His third session at the university, which had witnessed his first well-sustained intellectual efforts, had witnessed also his earliest attempts in English composition. Here he had to begin at the very beginning. Letters written by him even after his second

year at College, exhibit a glaring deficiency in the first and simplest elements of correct writing. And he had to become very much his own instructor; guiding himself by such models as the prelections of Dr. Hunter and Dr. Brown, and the writings of Godwin or other favourite authors presented. A few of his first efforts in this way have been preserved. They exhibit little that is remarkable in style. The earliest compositions of those who have afterwards become distinguished as poets or orators or eloquent writers, have generally displayed a profuse excess of the rhetorical or the imaginative, which it took time and labour to reduce to becoming proportions. In the College exercises of Dr. Chalmers, this order is reversed. The earliest of them are the simplest and plainest, with scarce a gleam of fancy or sentiment ever rising to play over the page. They give token of a very vigorous youthful intellect disciplining itself at once in exact thinking and correct perspicuous expression; never allowing itself to travel beyond the bounds of the analysis or argument which it is engaged in prosecuting, never wandering away to pluck a single flower out of the garden of the imagination, by which illustration or adornment might be supplied. Those who, as the result of their analysis, have concluded that in Dr. Chalmers' mental constitution the purely intellectual largely predominated —that fancy was comparatively feeble, and that imagination, potent as she was, was but a minister of other and higher powers, might find historic verification of their analysis in the earliest of his College compositions. But his progress here was marvellously rapid. Habits of accurate and easy composition, which in many instances it costs half a lifetime to acquire to the same degree, were acquired by him within two years. And the ordinary difficulties of expression once mastered, that burning fervour which glowed with such constant intensity within, got free and natural opportunity of outflow, and shaping spon-

taneously the language that was employed for the utterance of thought or sentiment, moulded it into forms of beauty and power.

It was then the practice at St. Andrews, that all the members of the University assembled daily in the public hall for morning and evening prayers, which were conducted by the theological students. The hall was open to the public, but in general the invitation was not largely accepted. In his first theological session it came by rotation to be Dr. Chalmers' turn to pray. His prayer, an amplification of the Lord's Prayer, clause by clause consecutively, was so originally and yet so eloquently worded, that universal wonder and very general admiration were excited by it. "I remember still," writes one who was himself an auditor,* "after the lapse of fifty-two years, the powerful impression made by his prayers in the Prayer Hall, to which the people of St. Andrews flocked when they knew that Chalmers was to pray. The wonderful flow of eloquent, vivid, ardent, description of the attributes and works of God, and still more perhaps, the astonishingly harrowing delineation of the miseries, the horrid cruelties, immoralities, and abominations inseparable from war, which always came in more or less in connexion with the bloody warfare in which we were engaged with France, called forth the wonderment of the hearers. He was then only sixteen years of age, yet he showed a taste and capacity for composition of the most glowing and eloquent kind. Even then, his style was very much the same as at the period when he attracted so much notice, and made such powerful impression in the pulpit and by the press."

For the cultivation of his talent for composition he was largely indebted to debating societies formed among the students. During the session 1793-94, he had been admitted as

* The Rev. Mr. Burns of Kilsyth, in MS. Memoranda.

a member of the Political Society, and, on his entering the Divinity Hall in November 1795, he was enrolled in the books of the Theological Society. No records of the Political Society have been preserved. "I have examined," says Professor Duncan, "the books of the Theological Society, and find that Dr. Chalmers, Lord Campbell, and myself, as also Mr. Walker of Carnwath, Mr. Miller of Monikie, Mr. Melville of Logie, and Mr. Shaw of Langholm, all entered that Society in the same year, viz., in the session 1795-6. This Society was composed entirely of divinity students, and met once a week in a room of the Divinity College, commonly called St. Mary's College. The subjects discussed were of course mostly of a theological nature, or nearly connected with theology. The business of the evening commenced with the delivery of a systematic discourse on some subject prescribed to the member in the preceding session, and then succeeded the debate on some subject which had been taken out by some member at the previous meeting, and on which, when he had declared the side he intended to take, another member was appointed to assist him, and other two members to impugn, or sustain the opposite side. A list of questions considered as most proper for discussion was made out at the beginning of the session by a committee appointed for the purpose. In session 1796-7, Dr. Chalmers was engaged on the affirmative side of the question, 'Is a Divine Revelation necessary?' when he read a speech which to this day Dr. Craik of Libberton remembers as having first impressed him with a high idea of Dr. Chalmers' talents. In 1796-7, he delivered a systematic discourse on predestination, which must have been prescribed to him in the previous session. This discourse is remarkable, as I remember that the subject of it occupied him intensely during that session. I remember also, that when he was Professor of Moral Philosophy here, nearly thirty years afterwards, he was intensely

occupied with the same subject, and spent some days in discussing it in his class. I have understood further, that it was among the last subjects which he discussed in the Free Church College.

"I find that in session 1798-9, Dr. Chalmers took out for the subject of debate, 'Is man a free agent?' and chose the negative side. He appears to have taken his regular turn in the debates, and after the first session of his attendance, to have often volunteered a speech in aid of the speaker who had been regularly appointed at the previous meeting. I remember, that these volunteer speeches were generally delivered, not read, and were made in reply to previous speakers. The other principal speakers in this way were John Campbell, now Lord Campbell, and, during one session, the celebrated Mr. John Leyden. The session in which Leyden was a member was that of 1797-8. He was far superior to any other speaker in the Society. He had an unlimited command of words, and could speak for any length of time on almost any subject."*

The following passage, written during one of the sessions of attendance at the Divinity Hall, may be presented here as a specimen of Dr. Chalmers' college compositions:—"How different the languor and degeneracy of the present age from

* Let the reader compare this account with that given by Leyden's biographer, Mr. Morton, of his first appearances in the Literary Society—a society formed among the students attending the University of Edinburgh, which Leyden joined at an early period of his academic studies:—"Leyden's first attempts to speak in the society were very unsuccessful, and more than once procured him the mortification of being laughed at by his associates. But his perseverance was not to be overcome. The resolute and manly spirit which supported him on this and every similar occasion, may be understood from what he said to one of his friends, a person of great abilities and learning, who belonged to the same society, but who from an excess of modesty, had never attempted to make a speech. 'I see what will happen,' said Leyden to him one day, after having in vain exhorted him to overcome his timidity, 'I shall, through constant practice, at last be able to harangue, whilst you, through dread of the ridicule of a few boys, will let slip the opportunity of learning this art, and will continue the same diffident man through life.'" —*Memoirs of Dr. John Leyden, by the Rev. James Morton*, pp. xi. xii.

that ardour which animated the exertions of the primitive Christians in the cause of their religion. That religion had then all the impressive effect of novelty. The evidences which supported its divine origin were still open to observation. The miracles of Christianity proclaimed it to be a religion that was supported by the arm of Omnipotence. The violence of a persecuting hostility only served to inflame their attachment to the truth, and to arouse the intrepidity of their characters. Enthusiasm is a virtue rarely produced in a state of calm and unruffled repose. It flourishes in adversity. It kindles in the hour of danger, and rises to deeds of renown. The terrors of persecution only serve to awaken the energy of its purposes. It swells in the pride of integrity, and, great in the purity of its cause, it can scatter defiance amid a host of enemies. The magnanimity of the primitive Christians is beyond example in history. It could withstand the ruin of interests, the desertion of friends, the triumphant joy of enemies, the storms of popular indignation, the fury of a vindictive priesthood, the torments of martyrdom. The faith of immortality emboldened their profession of the gospel, and armed them with contempt of death. The torrent of opposition they had to encounter in asserting the religion of Jesus, was far from repressing their activity in his service. They maintained his cause with sincerity—they propagated it with zeal—they devoted their time and their fortune to its diffusion. Amid all their discouragements they were sustained by the assurance of a heavenly crown. The love of their Redeemer consecrated their affections to his service, and enthroned in their hearts a pure and disinterested enthusiasm. Hence the rapid and successful extension of Christianity through the civilized world. The grace of God was with them. It blasted all the attempts of opposition. It invigorated the constancy of their purposes. It armed them with fortitude amid the terrors

of persecution, and carried them triumphant through the proud career of victory and success."

In November 1842—more than forty years after the eulogy of enthusiasm contained in this passage was penned at St. Andrews—Dr. Chalmers met in solemn convocation with upwards of 400 of the Evangelical ministers of the Church of Scotland, assembled in Edinburgh to deliberate in prospect of the Disruption; and when, standing in the midst of them, the veteran leader of that noble band sought to stir up all around him to an enthusiasm equal to the great occasion which they were about to face, he took up the very words of this old College exercise, and no passage he ever wrote was uttered with more fervid energy or a more overwhelming effect.

During these winters of attendance at St. Andrews, the family at Anstruther had been rapidly increasing, till it had reached the goodly number of fourteen. Dr. Chalmers' seventh session was now drawing near its close. During the eighth, a three months' instead of a six months' residence at College might suffice. His time was thus about to fall almost wholly into his own hands. Instead of returning to Anstruther to be a burden upon his father, and to live on there in idleness perhaps for years, till through the influence of his friends he obtained a living, Dr. Chalmers resolved to try at least to open for himself one of those channels through which ecclesiastical preferment was at that time not unusually reached. In May 1798, he left home to enter as private tutor* a family

* The day of his departure was one of mixed emotion. Having previously despatched his luggage, he was to travel on horseback to the ferry at Dundee. The whole family turned out to bid him farewell. Having taken as he thought his last tender look of them all, he turned to mount the horse which stood waiting for him at the door, but he mounted so that, when fairly on its back, his head was turned, not to the horse's head, but to the horse's tail. This was too much for all parties, and especially for him; so wheeling round as quickly as he could, amid pursuing peals of laughter, which he most heartily re-echoed, he left Anstruther in the rear.

where he was destined to find a most ungenial residence. He had ten children to teach, the eldest of whom was about fifteen. From seven till nine o'clock in the morning, from ten till twelve in the forenoon, from two till three, and from four till six, he was daily occupied in the direct labours of education. The weariness of such employment among children so young might have been rendered more tolerable had he found his pupils easy subjects of discipline, or their parents considerate and kind. In both respects it was otherwise. The picture, however, of his tutorship sorrows will be best presented in the following extracts from letters written by himself to Dr. Brown and to his father:—

"——— *July* 18, 1798.

"DEAR SIR,—I have deferred writing to you to this time that I might be able to give you a just account of the nature of my situation It is by no means the most eligible. The people of the house don't seem to know the place in which a tutor should stand: hence a cold, distant, contemptuous reserve, which I was never accustomed to, and which exposes me to the most disagreeable feelings. The vexation of mind that arises from this circumstance is much heightened by the difficulties of my employment. The oldest boy, about fifteen, who has been two years at College, seems to have no idea of any respect being due to my office; his behaviour not only made his own management a matter of difficulty, but had also a tendency to weaken my authority over my other pupils. My predecessor, as I have reason to believe, in compliance with the wishes of the female part of the family, allowed his pupils several improper indulgences: hence they had contracted habits quite incompatible with the order and discipline which ought to be observed, and I was obliged to have recourse to strong measures in order to root them out. These gave offence, I thought, to the ladies of the house, (Mrs. and her

mother,) and I ascribed to this in great part their high looks and sour forbidding deportment. I have been a stranger to real enjoyment ever since I came here. I place my happiness in the reciprocal returns of friendship and good-will, but this is to me a solitary desert, and I have nothing in it wherewith to call forth my affections. In comparison with this my other grievances are but light and inconsiderable. They are such, however, as ought not to be despised or overlooked. I am seven hours every day with the children, and, making allowance for necessary avocations, I have not above one hour for my own studies. I consider it likewise as rather unworthy treatment that I have not a room to myself, but that some of my pupils sleep in it along with me. However, I shall not make these the subject of complaint, as in these respects I am treated as Mr. G—, and as I entered into the family on condition of being treated as he was, without making any particular inquiry. Excuse any violent expressions; consider them as the picture of my feelings. I hope you will consider the circumstances of my situation as affording a full justification. Please to advise what steps I should take to secure the peace of my own mind, and also to act my part with dignity and with effect. I open myself to you without any reserve, as I am sure you will enter into my feelings, and be ready to assist me with your advice. —I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS."

——— *July* 19, 1798.

"DEAR FATHER,—In my former letters I have been silent as to the temper of the people in the house, and the manner in which they conduct themselves toward me. This you must be sensible is the chief ingredient in the happiness of one in my situation, and from nearly two months' experience I think I can give you a tolerably just idea of my condition in that respect. After making due allowances for the disparity of our

condition, and for that haughtiness of deportment which may be conceived to arise from it, I thought there was a negligent and contemptuous manner which the circumstances of the case did by no means justify. I kept silent for some time, as I did not know the place in which a tutor should stand, and thought that perhaps the coldness and reserve I met with was only what a tutor had to look for. But comparing my treatment with the treatment of others in the same situation, and being likewise informed that my predecessor felt in the same manner as I did, I began to think that their behaviour was unwarrantable. When talking to —— I took occasion to communicate to him my suspicions, that the strong measures I had taken with his children rendered me the object of aversion to the greater part of the family. I told him, that though a regard to no one's humours and opinions should induce me to deviate from that mode of discipline which I had adopted, yet the feeling of being hated rendered my situation very disagreeable. I likewise told him, that I had enough of difficulties to encounter in the children themselves, and that I had little need for anything without to damp and to depress me. His professions were kind and obliging. He told me that he had been sorry to observe for some weeks past, that I seemed to labour under some disquietude. I told him that I did not look for my happiness or misery in the number of hours I was engaged, or in any such thing, but that the dispositions of the people in the house towards me affected me more than any other circumstance in my situation. The consequence of my remonstrance has been a visible change in their behaviour, a more becoming and respectful treatment. But still my situation is by no means eligible. There are still symptoms of indifference and contempt which are little fitted, with my disposition, to inspire me with confidence, or enable me to overcome that timidity, which reason tells me is foolish, but which, with all my reason-

ing, I can scarce get the better of. I, however, begin to feel the advantages of an independent way of acting, and am determined to demean myself as if I had an interest of my own to mind, and principles of my own for the regulation of my conduct; careful in the meantime of encroaching on that respect which is due to my superiors. In some of my former letters I said, that you should not consider me as settled here, but should be at as much pains in looking out for a place as if I was yet unprovided for. It was a great object of mine in entering into ——'s family, and I believe you had it yourself in view, that I should have opportunities of seeing men and manners, and wear off those habits I had contracted by excessive solitude, and which unfitted me for social converse. But my present circumstances are rather unfavourable to these ends. In consequence of the low idea they have got of the respect due to a tutor, it is impossible for me to talk with freedom and confidence. I have observed more than once my attempts to participate in the conversation discountenanced by the frown of superior dignity. Hence those who frequent the house—many of whom would bow full low in your dining-room—regard me as unworthy of their notice, and return my salutations with cold indifference. Excuse any expressions which may seem to savour of pride or presumption. Be assured I have a lively feeling of the folly of pride and the fitness of modesty. But I know there is a medium between assuming insolence and a mean unmanly subjection. I shall endeavour to make propriety the standard of my conduct. I know there is an inferiority on my part, and shall study to maintain a respectful deportment. But neither my own feelings, nor respect for my friends, will allow me to sit in silent submission under any glaring indignity.—I am, yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*August* 21, 1798.

"Dear Father,—I received yours, and acknowledge the justness and propriety of your observations on my present state. It continues much the same with what it was when I last wrote. True, there are some instances of condescension, and some marks of regard since my remonstrances with —— which I had not before met with. But still my condition is far from eligible; and whatever may have been your ideas of the situation before I entered into it, I am sure it is such as you never intended for me, where I have all the labour and all the drudgery of a schoolmaster, without the respectability of a tutor. You may think that from my youth and inexperience I am incapable of judging of that mode of treatment which belongs to my office. But I can assure you, many sensible, intelligent people—clergymen and others, who have had experience in that way, agree in thinking that both my predecessor and I were much lower in the estimation of the family than the generality of tutors are or ought to be. This renders a change highly desirable. At the same time, I would not like to leave my present place without the near prospect of another, as I would be content to undergo many hardships rather than remain idle at home.—I am, dear Father, yours affectionately, Thomas Chalmers."

"*October* 29, 1798.

"Dear Father,—My situation in the family continues the same as ever. As their deportment towards me consists of jealous and suspicious reserve, with a view, I suppose, of keeping up their dignity, I have thought proper to be as close and reserved on my part. It is impossible to be upon a good understanding with people disposed to regard me in so inferior a light as they do. I don't know what it is to act the part of an underling, especially with those with whom I am sure elsewhere I would be at least upon a footing of equality. It is not,

however, upon this ground that I argue with ——. I came here as his tutor, and must submit to all those inconveniences which justly belong to the situation; and what only affords me just ground of complaint is, that my treatment does not accord with what a tutor has a right to expect.—I am, dear Father, yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*November* 6, 1798.

"DEAR FATHER,—I am sorry to think there is anything in my last letter to make you suspect any improper reserve on my part towards the family. I can assure you their conduct towards me is universally disapproved. I never have yet mentioned particulars to you; but do you think I can feel agreeably from being thought unworthy of supping in the same room with the family? My pupils often have this privilege when there is company, whilst I, regarded as inferior to them, have supper in my own room. I am sure they would consider themselves affronted if any persons in the town were to ask me along with them to their houses. I am sometimes asked by myself, but never with the family. When there is company, I am on a very inferior footing indeed. I have been frowned upon for speaking, as if I were thought unworthy of joining in the conversation. To be sure this does not give offence in so high a degree when they are by themselves; but do you imagine that I am to take advantage of this privilege as if I was glad of the favour, and thought myself honoured by their condescension? This is what the reserve I spoke of in my last letter chiefly consists in. I would never allow myself to do or say anything rude, to give a morose and uncivil answer, or fail in any of the attentions which common discretion or common politeness required. I know that there are some people who, impetuous about trifles, take fire at every little thing, and make a great fuss about their dignity and their respect. But I would ever dis-

tinguish between such a silly, contemptible dignity and that dignity which is never offended but when it has just grounds of offence; and though I have a strong feeling of such a distinction, yet I don't feel that it is incumbent on me to speak, when by so doing I am exposed to careless, neglectful answers, and would show that I gladly catch at the honour of their conversation. My present treatment has given me a disgust at the situation of a tutor. I can assure you that my place at present is not nearly so eligible or respectable as the schoolmaster's at Anster. I know that I could be in that situation, but I know likewise that it would hurt you and my other friends, and I shall be far removed from you before I enter into such a situation.—I am, yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

Matters grew worse as the summer months rolled on. Though at first disposed to favour one so zealously bent on the careful training of his children, his employer, won over at last by the predominating female influence, passed into the ranks of the enemy. The very servants, catching the spirit which prevailed elsewhere, were disposed to be insolent. The whole combined household were at war with him. The undaunted tutor resolved nevertheless to act his part *with dignity and effect.* Remonstrances were vain. To the wrong they did him in dismissing him, when company came, to his own room, they would apply no remedy. He devised therefore a remedy of his own. He was living near a town in which, through means of introductions given him by Fifeshire friends, he had already formed some acquaintances. Whenever he knew that there was to be a supper from which he would be excluded, he ordered one in a neighbouring inn, to which he invited one or more of his own friends. To make his purpose all the more manifest, he waited till the servant entered with his solitary repast, when he ordered it

away, saying, "I sup elsewhere to-night." Such curiously-timed tutorship suppers were not very likely to be relished by Mr. ——, who charged him with unseemly and unseasonable pride. "Sir," said he, "the very servants are complaining of your haughtiness. You have far too much pride." "There are two kinds of pride, sir," was the reply. "There is that pride which lords it over inferiors; and there is that pride which rejoices in repressing the insolence of superiors. The first I have none of—the second I glory in." It is not probable that the charge was repeated. Having obtained the hearty acquiescence of his father, he announced his intention to quit the situation whenever the term of his engagement should expire. According to the terms of that engagement he was to be allowed three months at St. Andrews; but if he went as he intended at Christmas, he might have been required to give six weeks after the termination of the session. Mr. Chalmers was willing to return if his employer wished, but it was not insisted on. He left the family about the end of the year, and reached St. Andrews in the beginning of January 1799. Soon after his return, he applied to the Presbytery of St. Andrews to be admitted to his examination preparatory to his obtaining a license as a preacher of the gospel. Some difficulties were raised against its being received. He had not completed his nineteenth year, whereas presbyteries were not wont to take students upon probationary trials till they had attained the age of twenty-one. It happily occurred that one of his friends in the Presbytery fell upon the old statute of the Church, which ordains, "that none be admitted to the ministry before they be twenty-five years of age, except such as for rare and singular qualities shall be judged by the General and Provincial Assembly to be meet and worthy thereof." Under cover of the last clause of this statute, and translating its more dignified phraseology into terms of commoner use, his friend pleaded for Mr. Chalmers'

reception as "a lad o' pregnant pairts." The plea was admitted; and after the usual formalities, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel on the 31st July 1799.* It was one of the tales of his earlier life which he was in the habit in later years of playfully repeating, that such a title had been so early given to him, and such a dispensation as to age had been granted.

CHAPTER II.

FAMILY HISTORY—FIRST SERMON—TWO SESSIONS AT EDINBURGH—PROFESSORS PLAYFAIR, HOPE, STEWART, AND ROBISON—ASSISTANTSHIP AT CAVERS—MATHEMATICAL ASSISTANTSHIP AT ST. ANDREWS—VISIT TO EDINBURGH.

No strong desire was shown to exercise the privilege thus conferred. Without even waiting to discharge the customary duty of preaching for one of the ministers within the bounds of the Presbytery which had licensed him, Mr. Chalmers set out on a second visit to England. This abrupt departure was due in part to the attractive prospect of a family reunion. It was possible that five—and nearly certain that four—brothers, who had not seen each other for years, would meet at Liverpool. James, the eldest brother, who was eight years older than Thomas, was now married and established there in business. George, the second brother, who was three years older than Thomas, had gone to sea in his seventeenth year, and had already visited both the East and West Indies. The unfortunate career and untimely fate of William, the third brother, threw one of the earliest and darkest shadows over the household at Anstruther. He was but a year and a half older than Thomas. Destined for one of the learned professions, he had been two sessions—those of 1791-2, 1792-3—at the University of St. Andrews. The two brothers, William and Thomas, lodged together, and helped each other to be idler than perhaps either of them would have been alone. In May 1793, William was apprenticed to Mr. Young, a writer to the signet in Edinburgh. Here he was as inattentive to the duties of the desk as at St. Andrews he had been to those

of the class-room. Too often when a law-paper should have been completed, he was off to some boating excursion at Leith. Mr. Young was at last obliged to inform Mr. Chalmers of the conduct of his son; and the sad intelligence drew forth the following affectionate remonstrance:—

"Anstruther, 30th *December*, 1793.

"My Dear William,—I wrote you last week, and have none of yours now to reply to; but have had a letter to which I am obliged to reply, and a very painful task it was to me to do so. I do not mean either to rail on or to abuse you; but desire, with soberness and affection, to expostulate with you. The letter I mention was from Mr. John Young, who regrets the necessity he was under of informing me of your inattention to your business; of your treating his entreaties and orders with neglect and contempt; of your absenting yourself whole days, even weeks, without any reason or apology; and that as he cannot trust to your attendance, he can only reckon you as a supernumerary hand; and as no application is given by you, it is not possible you can reap any benefit. Now, my dear Willie, the remedy is only with yourself; and I really think you may have resolution enough to accomplish it. The consideration of your friends, and your own interest, I should think reasons sufficiently strong to urge you to it. You are Mr. Young's legal apprentice. The penalty on your failure I am liable to pay. Every day you absent yourself, you are liable to serve two for it at the end of your apprenticeship. After all that has happened, I still hope you may do well. As you tender the authority and regard of a father, the affection of your mother—the peace and comfort of both parents, brothers, sisters, and relations—as you regard your future prosperity in life, and the authority of God, who commands obedience and respect to earthly masters, I beseech you, my dear son, to leave off

levity and negligence, and to attend regularly on your master's business. Your whole time is his during your apprenticeship. Never absent yourself a day or any part of it, and make amends for your former neglect by a constant attendance. Be very careful to study your master's temper. Receive his orders with respect, and execute them with diligence. None come through life without difficulties. I have therefore to beseech you to have courage to bear what you may meet with. The day will come, I hope, that you will consider your present difficulties as having been a blessing. Though you may in some cases think yourself hardly used, it is your duty to submit. Great, very great are the advantages to a young man of being constantly employed. May God be with you and bless you; and if my counsel to you at this time has His blessing, it will give you and me grounds of thankfulness.—I am, your affectionate father,

JOHN CHALMERS."

His mother remonstrated in terms of still greater strength and almost equal tenderness, but in vain. No thought of time lost, and expenditure vainly incurred—of the blighting of his parents' hopes, and the inflicting upon them of new anxieties, could stop the career of one who after all was more volatile than vicious. Before the second year of his apprenticeship expired he had sailed for China. In the summer of 1799, the vessel in which he was midshipman was at Portsmouth, and he might have joined his brothers at Liverpool. But they were never to meet again. About twelve months afterwards, an Indiaman, The Queen, lying off Rio Janeiro, was crept round under cloud of night by a boat's crew, who, with deadliest design, at every port and opening they could reach, thrust in lighted matches, and retired. The ignited vessel burnt till she blew up—burying numbers in the deep, and amongst them the ill-fated William Chalmers. The sad intelligence reached Anstruther. At the customary hour,

the family met for worship; Mr. Chalmers gave out the psalm; but as he read the verses, the thought of his lost child came over him—his voice faltered, stopped—he laid down the book, and burst into a flood of tears.

David, the fifth son, was three years younger than Thomas. At a very early age, following the example of two elder brothers, he had gone to sea. While only in his fourteenth year, his vessel was taken by the French in the West Indies, and he was thrown into a prison, whose own proper horrors were heightened by a slave's head being pitched occasionally over its walls, as if to terrify its inmates by showing them what their masters could do. Miserably housed and miserably fed, he was seized with Yellow Fever, from which, however, he recovered. After twelve months' durance, he escaped, and reached Liverpool in the spring of 1799. To his brother William, Thomas had already been of essential service in teaching him navigation during the few weeks he spent at Anstruther before joining his vessel, and one inducement to the present visit was that he might now render the same kind of assistance to David.

He left Edinburgh in the beginning of August, and having spent about a fortnight on the journey, which was entirely performed on foot, he reached Liverpool on the 20th of that month.

"LIVERPOOL, *Tuesday, August* 21.

"DEAR FATHER,—I arrived at Walton yesternight about six o'clock. The latter part of my journey has been rather unpleasant, from the great quantity of rain that has fallen. I have been highly gratified with the different scenes of landscape beauty at the lakes, though I think Mr. West is rather extravagant in his eulogiums. My brother and I intend to go on Saturday to Wigan, where I intend to make my first public exhibition in Mr. Dinwiddie's pulpit.—I am, dear Father, yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The place of worship—a neat plain edifice, called Chapel Lane Chapel, or the Scotch Church—still stands in Wigan, in which, on Sabbath, the 25th August 1799, his first sermon was preached. On the following Sabbath he preached for the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick in Liverpool. Of these two first appearances in the pulpit, his brother James wrote the following account:—

"LIVERPOOL, 3d *September*, 1799.

"DEAR FATHER,—We have been in the expectation of hearing from you in answer to our last, but we presume you have delayed writing in the expectation of hearing from us immediately after our Wigan journey. It is impossible for me to form an opinion of Thomas as yet; but the sermon he gave us in Liverpool, which was the same as we had in Wigan, was in general well liked. His mode of delivery is expressive, his language beautiful, and his arguments very forcible and strong. His sermon contained a due mixture both of the doctrinal and practical parts of religion, but I think it inclined rather more to the latter. The subject, however, required it. It is the opinion of those who pretend to be judges, that he will shine in the pulpit, but as yet he is rather awkward in his appearance. We, however, are at some pains in adjusting his dress, manner, &c., but he does not seem to pay any great regard to it himself. His mathematical studies seem to occupy more of his time than the religious. I refer you to the subjoined for other particulars (*if you can read them*),* and am, dear Father, yours most sincerely, JAMES CHALMERS."

In October, the four brothers had met, and David's navigation lessons had fairly commenced; but the lessons were stopped,

* These particulars were in Thomas' hand-writing, which even then was somewhat difficult to decipher. It became much worse afterwards—so much so, that his father is reported to have carefully deposited the unread letters in his desk, saying, that Thomas himself would read them to them when he came next to Anstruther.

and the brotherly intercourse abruptly terminated by a summons requiring Thomas' immediate presence in Edinburgh. A situation had become vacant, which, if on the spot, he might perhaps procure. He obeyed, but was disappointed. He remained, however, in Edinburgh during the whole of the ensuing winter, prosecuting his mathematical studies under Professor Playfair. At the beginning of the session, he had hoped that by taking pupils he might keep himself from pressing upon his father's resources. The failure of this expectation, and the arrangement which followed, he thus communicated to his old college friend, Mr. William Berry Shaw, son of the minister of Abbotshall:—

"EDINBURGH, *November* 8, 1799.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have been much disappointed in the article of pupils. A week sooner in Edinburgh would have answered my purpose. I am determined, however, to take up my residence here for the winter, and wait for any little thing that may offer in that way. I am at present in Hyndford Close, Canongate; but I remove in a few days, when you may direct to me at Chessels' Court, Canongate, to the care of Mr. Cowan. He is my mother's uncle, and has kindly offered me a room in his house. This, though highly advantageous in point of economy, is rather a restraint upon my freedom, especially in receiving and entertaining acquaintances.—I am, yours sincerely,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*P.S.*—What think you of the Clerical Review ?* There are three critics placed in every church in town who review the sermons of the ministers, and publish their observations on the Saturday following. The first number comes out next Saturday.—T. C."

In January 1800, he writes to his father:—"I feel quite

* See Appendix B.

happy in Mr. Cowan's family. His conduct is distinguished by all the regard of a parent. I have never preached since I came to Edinburgh, except once at Pennycook.* As to my class, I find my time so profitably employed that I would be sorry at any interruption for the winter. I hope, however, you do not think that I attach an excessive importance to this branch of knowledge. I have seen and I despise that illiberal ignorance which arrogates to one particular science an exclusive title to attention."

The kind of interruption which was dreaded was a call to ministerial employment! No such interruption disturbed his winter's progress. But one winter in Edinburgh was not enough. He had come to it hurriedly—with indefinite aim—without any special preparations. Repairing in haste to its academic inclosure, he had plucked but the fruits of one single plant, and it had whetted his appetite for others. He longed to profit by the eloquent prelections of Dugald Stewart and Dr. Robison. The opportunity besides was an inviting one, of making himself acquainted with a science new to him and most attractive. He had only been a few weeks in Edinburgh when a profound sensation was created by the death of Dr. Black—the illustrious Nestor, as Lavoisier called him, of the chemical revolution. The singular manner of that death†—the revival thereby of the memory of those brilliant discoveries which had signalized an earlier part of his career—the engagement by Dr. Robison to furnish an account of these discoveries, as well as to edit the lec-

* The first sermon preached in Scotland.

† "On the 26th of November 1799, he expired without any convulsion, shock, or stupor to announce or retard the approach of death. Being at table with his usual fare—some bread, a few prunes, and a measured quantity of milk diluted with water, and having the cup in his hand when the last stroke of the pulse was to be given, he set it down on his knees, which were joined together, and kept it steady with his hand in the manner of a person perfectly at his ease; and in this attitude he expired, without a drop being spilt or a feature in his countenance changed, as if an experiment had been required, to show to his friends the facility with which he departed."—*Ency. Brit.*, Art. *Black*.

tures of his deceased friend—all combined to throw a heightened interest around the science of chemistry, which the fluent ease and graceful experimenting of Dr. Black's successor, Dr. Hope, did nothing, at least, to diminish. It was most fortunate that during the summer no obstacle was thrown in the way of his accomplishing his desire. In July, we find him writing thus to Mr. Shaw:—

"ANSTRUTHER, *July* 9, 1800.

"DEAR SIR,—I received yours of May 27th, and regret my not having been at Edinburgh with so many of my St. Andrews acquaintances. I had a very pleasant excursion yesterday with Mr. Duncan and some others to the Bass and Island of May. I have preached twice in St. Andrews, and consider myself as having discharged my obligations to the ministers. There are applications pouring in from all quarters, but I find there is a necessity of resisting them. I have already exhausted all the different terms of expression which soften or give grace to a refusal, and I must now content myself with using peremptory and decided terms.

"Dr. Brown's speech* has excited much less criticism in St. Andrews than I expected. They are all very silent about it, and I suppose feel galled by its superior excellence. It is read with great avidity in some places, though I think there is a lukewarmness among the people in this country which disposes them to acquiesce with ease in any new measure. Dr. Arnot resides in Kingsbarns, and will, I believe, gain over the people by the popularity of his manners. I often go up to St. An-

* The Rev Dr. Robert Arnot, Professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, having been presented to the parish of Kingsbarns, his settlement was objected to, and the case referred to the General Assembly of 1800, before which Dr. Brown, Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, delivered a very able speech, which gave rise to a lengthened correspondence between him and Dr. George Hill, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Both the speech and the correspondence were published.

drews, where I reside for a week or a fortnight at a time. I find that the conversation of the few literati there has a sort of refreshing effect on my mind, and gives new vigour and alacrity to my exertions.—I am, yours sincerely,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

In November 1800, he returned to Edinburgh to pursue his studies during a second session. His attention to the chemical lectures was unremitting. The manuscript volumes in which the lectures delivered by Dr. Hope were extended, still remain to testify his diligence. In the course of the session, he gave in a paper to the professor, which, though wrong in its conclusions, may be taken as an ample enough voucher of the ingenuity of its author.*

Dr. Brown had furnished him with an introduction to Mr. Stewart, who politely called and presented him with a ticket of admission to the class of Moral Philosophy. When more than half of the session was over, after full opportunity of judging had been given—at a time when the lecturer's fame was at its height, and when in the face of a nearly unanimous verdict in his favour few would have ventured to challenge his title to be reckoned the very prince of metaphysicians, Mr. Chalmers thus conveyed to Dr. Brown his impressions of the character of Mr. Stewart's prelections :—

"EDINBURGH, *February* 25, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,—I gave your respects to Mr. Stewart, and delivered to him all the essential information you sent me regarding Dr. Reid. I was very much pleased with the freedom and openness of his conversation. I attend his lectures regularly. I must confess I have been rather disappointed. I never heard a single discussion of Mr. Stewart's which made up one masterly and comprehensive whole. His lectures seem to be made up of

* See Appendix C.

detached hints and incomplete outlines, and he almost uniformly avoids every subject which involves any difficult discussion. I have acquired from him, however, a much clearer idea than I ever had of the distinctive character of Reid's philosophy. I think it tends to a useless multiplication of principles, and shrinks even from an appearance of simplicity. I don't know if this remark will meet your approbation; but I think that as the love of simplicity is a source of error, so we may proceed too far in our opposition to it; that our unreserved submission to experience may be prevented, both by a desire of generalizing and by a previous conviction of its hurtful effects.—I am, dear Sir, yours with sincerest esteem, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The Edinburgh professor of whom he at once entertained the profoundest admiration, and to whom he was most largely indebted, was Dr. Robison. In the earliest of his own preparations for the Moral Philosophy Chair at St. Andrews, and in the latest of his writings for the Chair of Theology in the New College of Edinburgh,* evidence appears of his familiar acquaintance with, and unqualified approbation of, that mode of mapping out the sciences, and drawing the boundary line between them, which this great master generalizer adopted. His thorough knowledge—his profound admiration of the Baconian method of investigation were derived from the same source, Dr. Robison's exposition of the distinctive characteristics of that method still remaining as one of the very ablest of which our language can boast. Nor would Butler have been so readily hailed, or done such full homage to, as the Bacon of Theology, had he not been at this period so thoroughly indoctrinated into the distinctive characteristics, and so thoroughly imbued with the true spirit of the inductive philosophy. Ever ready, however, as Dr. Chalmers was, in terms of largest gratitude, to acknowledge

* See Institutes of Theology, vol. i. pp. 29 and 80.

his obligations to Dr. Robison, few knew how weighty the debt was which he owed to that pre-eminent philosopher. The nature of that debt, the following letter, written only a year before his death, reveals .—

"EDINBURGH, *March* 1, 1846.

"DEAR SIR,—I should have replied sooner to yours of the 17th, but my occupations are very urgent, and even yet I can only afford a very brief reply.

"I sympathize with you all the more in the state of philosophical scepticism that you complain of, that I at one time experienced it myself. The book to which I was most indebted for my deliverance was Beattie's Essay on Truth. I owe a great deal too to the introductory lectures of Professor Robison, whom I attended at the beginning of this century as a student of natural philosophy. The substance of these lectures is to be found in the latter half of the article Philosophy, and also in the article Physics in the supplementary volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Whether they have been engrossed into the main work in the last edition, I do not know.

"The single consideration which has had most effect on my own mind, I have tried to make palpable in vol. ii. of my Natural Theology, in page 169, though I enter upon the subject of that argument some pages before.

"Under all the difficulties and despondencies of such a state, I would still encourage you to prayer. Cry as you can. With real, moral earnestness, and a perseverance in this habit, light will at length arise out of darkness. Do not indulge these sceptical tendencies ; but under the conviction of their being a great misfortune and evil, struggle against them to the uttermost. I can write no more at present. This is the last month of my college session, and I am very much engrossed and fatigued during the whole of it.—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

To understand this letter, let us go back to that period in his philosophical course, when Dr. Chalmers became a student and admirer of the works of Godwin, and let us trace the history from that time onward of the philosophical scepticism which was then first generated in his mind. Godwin himself used the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity as the basis of a refined but universal Pyrrhonism. Nor was it easy as he represented it, for the doctrine to be accepted, and the results drawn from it to be refused. Whatever doubts Godwin had injected, Jonathan Edwards dispelled—shewing him how, on the very same basis, the highest form of an adoring piety could be raised. Rejoicing in the discovery, he rose as high, perhaps, as the kind of faith he cherished could carry him ; and in his twelemonth's ecstasy, tested its full power to regale and to satisfy the spirit. Still, however, his was a different kind of faith from that of Edwards. It was but a philosophical faith in the Godhead—a faith resting as its main, if not only support, on enlarged and sublime conceptions of a universe throughout the whole of whose immutable successions a sovereign principle of fixed and unvarying order reigns. A faith soaring so high, and leaning only on such support, was liable to be shaken ; and it was so shaken, when towards the close of his attendance at the Divinity Hall of St. Andrews, Mirabaud's* work on the "System of Nature, or the Laws of the Moral and Physical World," came into his hands. In his first course of theological lectures in Edinburgh, he characterized this work as one fitted, "by its gorgeous generalizations on nature and truth and the universe, to make tremendous impression on the unpractised reader."† That very kind of impression it had once

* The *Système de la Nature*, published under the assumed name of "M. Mirabaud, Secrétaire Perpétuel et l'un des quarante de l'Académie Française," is sufficiently ascertained to have been the production of Baron d'Holbach.—Barbier, Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes, tom. iii. p. 291.—*Biographie Universelle*, tom. xx. p. 404.

† See Works, vol. i. p. 163.

made upon his own mind. To it, much more than to Godwin's Political Justice, he attributed his tendency to doubt as to the stability of the foundations on which all truth—moral and religious—rested. It first appeared in English in 1797, and I am inclined to believe that it was first read by Dr. Chalmers during the period when he was acting as a tutor. "After being very uncomfortable for some time in that situation," Mr. Miller tells us, "he left the family abruptly, and came to me at St. Andrews, in a state of great excitement and unhappiness, and lived with me during the rest of the session. His mind was at that time in a most interesting but unhappy condition. He was earnestly searching for the truth—saw some things very clearly and satisfactorily, but could not find his way to the understanding and belief of some of the most obvious doctrines of natural and revealed religion. Those who were not particularly acquainted with him, thought him going fast into a state of derangement. One very common expression in his public prayers, and which showed the state of his mind at that time—'Oh, give us some steady object for our mind to rest upon,' was uttered with all his characteristic earnestness and emphasis. I knew that he was exceedingly earnest in seeking the light of truth at that time in his private devotion, and was often on his knees at my bedside after I had gone to bed."*

Instead of the great Being—the abstract though still personal Deity, into rapturous adoration of whom he had been for a time uplifted—Mirabaud placed before him an eternal universe of mere matter and motion, all the goodliest processes of which were but the necessary evolutions of the powers and properties wherewith all its parts had from eternity been endowed. Did the perplexed student point to this or that other wonderful instance of contrivance existing in this universe? Mirabaud

* MS. Letter.

informed him that these were but harmonies which naturally occurred, upon matter's original properties developing themselves according to motion's immutable laws. Did he turn to the spirit within him in proof of something different from and above the material universe? Mirabaud would have him to believe that this mind or spirit was the natural result of that wonderful and organized assemblage of material particles which constitutes the human body. Originally nothing—without any innate ideas—without any original qualities of its own—it had no distinct and independent existence, but was only what that material organization in its different forms and stages made it. Even granting of this mind that it had original beliefs, of which no natural history could be given, what reason was there to think that these beliefs had any actual counterparts in the reality of things? They were true to the mind which entertained them; but true only because of its individual constitution requiring it so to believe. Let another mind be differently constituted, might not its beliefs be different—nay, might they not even be reversed? It was here that the lectures of Dr. Robison—it was here that the "single consideration" referred to in the letter quoted above—struck in with such appropriateness of application and with such beneficent effect. Take the faith we all have in the uniformity of nature's sequences—what explanation of its origin can be assigned? To what other common fountainhead of belief can it be traced? What natural history of it can be given? It is not due to experience; for before all experience it exists. It owes nothing to after training; for it is in the very fulness of its strength the first moment that it shows itself. And is it—can it be an illusion, having no support but that given it by the form and structure of the mind in which it dwells? That cannot be. The outward, the independent, the unvarying testimony of the external world responds to and confirms it. An adaptation like this, between what the mind believes

and what the material universe through all her bounds exhibits, an adaptation so singular, yet so universal—the inward expectation met without a single exception by the outward fulfilment—can it possibly be the product of the intrinsic properties of matter—the blind laws of motion? Too audibly to be unheard by any but the ear which wilfully closes itself, such adaptation speaks of a divine and intelligent adapter. For the poor wanderer in that doleful region of universal doubt, who was seeking rest but finding none, Beattie and Robison opened up more than one pathway of escape. But this, as we have now attempted to describe it, this was the special door of egress by which the happy escape was in the first instance made. Nor, considering what service it rendered to himself, is it to be wondered at that he should be heard so often and so earnestly recommending it to others.*

While Mr. Chalmers was imbibing wholesome lessons from Dr. Robison, his friend Mr. Shaw was acting as assistant to the Rev. Mr. Elliot, minister of Cavers—a parish in Roxburghshire, lying along the southern banks of the Teviot, a few miles below Hawick. Having the prospect of removal by the promise of a presentation to the neighbouring parish of Roberton, Mr. Shaw thought of his college friend as his successor, and endeavoured to interest in his favour Mr. Douglas, the chief resident landholder in, and patron of, the parish of Cavers.

"It seems," says Mr. Chalmers in a letter to Mr. Shaw, dated at Edinburgh, June 1, 1801, "it seems that you had mentioned me to Mr. Douglas. He asked Leyden about me, who carried me to his house on Thursday last, where I dined. Not a single word, however, passed upon the subject, and I am quite uncertain as to his intentions. You must now see, my dear sir, the impropriety of my taking any step without the knowledge of

* See Works, vol. ii. pp. 160-172; vol. iii. pp. 47-61; vol. vii. pp. 208-288, and particularly, p. 206.

Mr. Douglas; and that my business at present is to remain passive till something more transpire upon the subject. I have left my direction with Mr. Leyden, and wait for any proposals from Mr. Douglas that may occur."

This letter was grounded on a misapprehension. It had not been to Mr. Douglas, as patron of the parish, that Mr. Shaw had applied: the assistantship in this case did not involve the succession; it was by the minister that the appointment was to be made, and it was from him only that any proposal could emanate. Mr. Shaw suggested that Mr. Chalmers should come without delay and preach at Cavers, that by his becoming favourably known to the parishioners, Mr. Elliot might be induced to appoint him as his assistant. To this suggestion, conveyed by letter to Anstruther, he received the following reply:—

"ANSTRUTHER, *June* 13, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am very sorry that before receiving yours I had formed the plan of going up with my sister to England, and am afraid it will be absolutely impossible for me to appear at Cavers so soon as you mention. The situation is what I would like above all things, both for its independence and for the opportunities of professional improvement which it affords. You never told me, but I suppose your connexion with Elliot is not dissolved for some months. In that case, if there be no inconvenience in the delay of a few weeks, I may both accomplish my journey to Liverpool, and be present at Cavers in time to receive the assistantship.—Yours sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Fulfilling the intention expressed in this letter, Mr. Chalmers reached Liverpool on the 17th June. Two days after his arrival, he received and thus answered a second invitation to come immediately to Cavers:—

"LIVERPOOL, *June* 20, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 13th, transmitted from Anster yesterday, and am truly sorry that your plans have been so much deranged. There is one view of the matter that to me is peculiarly interesting, in as far as it involves Walker* or any other whom you may choose to apply to. I hope the affair is not too late, but that either one or other of us may succeed. What I now propose is to move northward the middle of next week, so as to be with you at Cavers on Saturday the 29th June, and, if convenient, preach for you the day after. There is no subject on which I feel more tender, and none in which I am more anxiously interested, than my own conduct in as far as it affects the interests and prosperity of others. I hope to God that Mr. Walker will not suffer from anything dilatory or undecided in my movements upon this occasion, and that if I be excluded, there will still be a possibility of his succeeding in the office. Next to my own success in this affair, (and it is a situation which upon many accounts is very desirable,) I sincerely wish that your good intentions with regard to Mr Walker, or any other of your companions, may be fulfilled.—Yours sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The visit to Cavers was paid, the sermon was preached, and the result thus communicated to his father:—

"CAVERS, *July* 8, 1801.

"DEAR FATHER,—I left Liverpool on Wednesday the first of this month, reached this place on Friday, and preached on Sunday; when having proved acceptable to the people in general, there remains no obstacle to my settlement here as assistant to Mr. Elliot. Mr. Shaw's connexion with him is not dissolved till the end of September, so that I will have time to compose a

* The Rev. James Walker, afterwards minister of Carnwath.

sufficiency of sermons to render the business abundantly easy. The only remaining uncertainty is respecting the arrival of Mr. Shaw's presentation, in which there has been some little delay from the Duke of Buccleuch's bad health, but we expect it every day. I preached last Sunday upon Mark viii. 15, 'Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.'—I am, yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The month of July was devoted to Teviotdale. Delighted with the beauty of that exquisite neighbourhood, his heart quite won by the frank and intelligent cordiality of its families, he returned to Anstruther to have laid before him what he deemed to be new proofs of the selfishness and ingratitude of a family, which politically had been deeply indebted to his father.* More than once before, instances of their indifference had occurred. Beyond this, he believed that they were now practising on his father's simplicity of character, abusing his gentle patience, and calculating upon a charity which was long ere it failed in believing, or hoping, or enduring. The burning indignation which such conduct excited, breaks out in the following letter addressed to Mr. Shaw shortly after his return from Cavers to Anstruther:—"I feel a strong tendency to depression in this stagnant place, and cannot help observing the astonishing contrast between this and Teviotdale. Less society—less business—less sentiment and information among the different orders. The country here bears about with it every symptom of decay—a languishing trade—an oppressed tenantry—a rapacious gentry. Excuse my croaking.. I love to unburden myself of those unpleasant feelings which weigh down my spirit. With what eagerness, with what patriotic ardour would I take up arms in defence of my country

* His father was for many years Provost of Anstruther, one of five small neighbouring boroughs which at that time returned a member to Parliament.

—would I lend all my efforts to oppose a threatened invasion, were I conscious of defending a righteous order of things. With what reluctance and disgust must I concur in what are called the exertions of patriotism, when I observe none interested but a set of insolent oppressors, who display their loyalty, not by rewarding its friends, but by persecuting its enemies—not by encouraging the pure virtue of public spirit, but by crushing all attempts at even an innocent freedom of observation and thought. Ah! my dear sir, if you felt that burden of indignation which oppresses my feelings when I behold the triumph of successful villany—the contempt which attends the simplicity of virtue—the base ingratitude of those who have availed themselves of the influence and exertions of unsuspicious friends. I swear at this moment I feel a sentiment of superiority which I would not forego for all the luxurious pleasures, all the flattering distinctions of wealth. I heave with a sacred aspiration of contempt for the unprincipled deceit—the mean hypocrisy of our dignified superiors. But I go too far. The great whom I have had the misfortune to be connected with are not only a disgrace to rank, but a disgrace to humanity. They are by no means a fair specimen; and I must still consider it as my duty to resist the inroads of foreign enemies. It would be well, however, for the great to reflect on their critical and dependent situation—to abolish that putrid system of interest which threatens to extinguish all the ardours of generous and patriotic sentiment—to adopt a more just and liberal conduct to inferiors. I tremble for my country, and see nothing to save us but individual reformation through the different orders of society. This the experience of human affairs can by no means warrant us to expect. Our profession also has the misfortune to labour, and too deservedly, under general contempt. I hope to God we shall rise above the vices and defects to which that profession is exposed.—Yours sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS."

While Mr. Chalmers was waiting at Anstruther till the period of Mr. Shaw's removal, Dr. Wilson, the Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Andrews, died. It was not improbable that a vacancy might thus be created in one of the parishes which were in the gift of the United College. Mr. Chalmers announced himself as a candidate for any such vacancy. He was the more readily induced to do so from its having been very much the practice in the distribution of College patronage that each professor in his turn, if he had any near relation for whom the preferment might be claimed, should virtually have the living in his gift—a privilege which upon this occasion fell into the hands of Dr. Adamson, Professor of Civil History. It might happen, however, as it did, that a year or more might elapse ere anything was settled. Mr. Chalmers resolved to accept, in the mean time, the situation which Mr. Shaw's kindness had opened to him. That kindness was increased by the offer made and accepted, that instead of the manse at Cavers being occupied solitarily by Mr. Chalmers, he should live with Mr. Shaw in his manse at Roberton, which was only about seven miles distant from Cavers Church, to which he could ride over and return each Sabbath day. The offer so kindly made, was thus frankly accepted :—

"St. Andrews, *October* 24, 1801.

"My Dear Sir,—I received yours, transmitted to me from Anster, and am much pleased with the very kind proposal you have made me. Though it had never occurred to me before, yet I think it, in the present circumstances, the most eligible which can be adopted. The obstacles which I suspect, are the dispositions of the parish and of Mr. Elliot—the one objecting to a non-resident preacher, the other to an assistant, who thus exposes himself to the displeasure of his parish. I would thank you to do all in your power to soften any prejudice which either the one or the other may conceive against such a mea-

sure. I insist, however, in case of my living at Roberton, that I share with you in every expense of our household establishment.

"I don't know if you have heard of the arrangements that have taken place in the New College—Dr. Trotter to get the Church History Chair, and Mr. Cook of Kilmany the Hebrew. I have been as vigorous in my application for the church as possible, but cannot state with any certainty what will be the issue.

"Be assured, my dear Sir, I feel a sincere impression of your kindness, and of your anxiety for my accommodation and comfort. I cannot soon forget the solicitude you discovered for my success in Cavers, the many efforts you have made on my behalf, and the unwearied assiduity with which you have all along promoted my interests. My future situation in life may be widely different from what we have hitherto proposed; but I hope I shall ever recollect your conduct with that candour which regards only the pure and disinterested intention, and not the event—so often the sport of blind and unmeaning accident. I cannot help expressing a sentiment of friendship, which I hope neither absence nor length of time will ever efface.—Yours sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*P.S.*—My respectful compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Usher, and my sincerest wishes for the happiness of all who inhabit that mansion of hospitality and peace."

Having secured a majority of votes among the professors at St. Andrews in favour of his presentation to Kilmany, Mr. Chalmers joined Mr. Shaw at Roberton.

"ROBERTON, *January* 13, 1802.

"DEAR FATHER,—The people in this country are kind and hospitable in the extreme. You cannot conceive the kindness

both Mr. Shaw and myself have experienced from the farmers around, in sending us peats, hay, straw, &c. Parochial examinations are quite common in this country. I begin that duty on Monday fortnight, and, as the parish is extensive, it will take me upwards of a fortnight to accomplish it. The mode is to divide the parish into a number of small districts, in each of which you are accommodated with lodgings, &c., in one or other of the farmers' houses. I am now quite free from sore-throat, and the people in Cavers have not lost a Sunday since my arrival. They are quite satisfied with my non-residence.—I am, yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"ROBERTON, *February* 19, 1802.

"DEAR FATHER,—I have accomplished the examination of the parish, which, from its extent and population, occupied a complete fortnight. I was in tolerable luck for weather, and the people kind and hospitable in the extreme. You will be pleased to hear that I am on the best terms with several respectable clergymen in the neighbourhood, who have been very kind and attentive to me.—Yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

Dr. Charters of Wilton, Dr. Hardie of Ashkirk, Mr. Arkle of Hawick, and Mr. Paton of Ettrick, all lived within an easy riding-distance of the manse at Roberton. With all of them Mr. Chalmers became intimate; while to Dr. Charters he became bound by the tie of a very sincere admiration of his character and talents, as well as a lively gratitude for the kindness shown to him at this early period of his life.

As the winter months rolled on, a new object of interest arose. Dr. Brown having been appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, the charge of the mathematical classes at St. Andrews had been committed successively to Mr. Coutts and Mr. Duncan. The latter had

been recently appointed to the Rectorship of the Academy of Dundee, and the Mathematical Assistantship was once more to be vacant. It was a situation too congenial to Mr. Chalmers' taste for him not to desire it. Had his aims been purely professional, the certainty of the appointment to Kilmany might have satisfied him; nay, if anything like the same feeling of ministerial responsibility which he afterwards entertained had been then experienced, he would never have thought of undertaking an office requiring such very laborious preparations, and that on the eve of his entrance on the Christian ministry. But, as yet unvisited with those profounder sentiments as to the objects and responsibilities of that ministry, science still swayed it over theology. His thirst for literary distinction was intense. To fill the mathematical chair in one of our universities was the high object of his ambition. To this the assistantship at St. Andrews might prove a stepping-stone. It would give him at least the opportunity so ardently longed for—of proving and exhibiting his capabilities for such an office. In spite, therefore, of the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed, he resolved to make a vigorous effort to obtain the appointment. Informed that his presence at St. Andrews was desirable, he left Roberton in the end of April, to return in a few weeks, not only with the assurance reiterated and confirmed of his receiving the presentation to Kilmany, but with the mathematical assistantship secured. It might not be till Whitsuntide of the following year that he would be ordained as a minister; in November he would enter upon the duties of the mathematical class. Inflamed by the literary ardour which the prospect now before him had kindled, he returned to Teviotdale, resolved to devote the summer months to strenuous study. It aided the carrying out of this intention, that the manse at Roberton required repairs, and that he took temporary lodgings at Hawick. His time was thus more entirely

at his command, and that time was so well employed that when November came, his preparations for the session were nearly completed.

"HAWICK, *June* 8, 1802.

"DEAR FATHER,—I have at length removed my quarters to this town, and find that my separation from Mr. Shaw is attended with the best possible effects in enabling me to pay undisturbed attention to my mathematical preparations. Independently of emolument, of prospects, or of any interested considerations whatever, the offer I have accepted is highly eligible, as it constrains me to exertion, as it increases the force of attention, as it refreshes the memory on subjects of great utility and importance, and as it renews habits of industry. I am obliged to keep myself a good deal aloof from intercourse with the people in town, though they seem disposed to pay me every attention, such as inviting me to their public entertainment on the King's birth-day, &c. I have intimated to Mr. Elliot my intention of leaving Cavers on the first of September. I expect him in the course of a fortnight, as our sacrament is to take place on the fourth Sunday of the month. I go up to Ettrick on Friday, and preach in that parish on the Saturday and Monday. On the intervening Sabbath I preach at Eskdalemuir.—I am, yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"HAWICK, *July* 23, 1802.

"DEAR FATHER,—I have been much resorted to of late for my assistance on sacramental occasions. This, in so thinly peopled a country, necessarily subjects me to long journeys, which I find, however, to be a pleasant and healthy relief from the labours of study. I don't think I will ever allow myself to be so carried away with the attractions of science as not to intermingle a sufficient degree of exercise and amusement.—I am, yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

During the three months spent in Hawick, he lodged in the house of Mr. Kedie, a baker in that town; two of whose daughters, very young at the time, and just learning to read and write, were in the habit of waiting on him. To the whole of the family, and particularly to his two little waiting-maids, he formed an attachment which, to the very close of his life, was ever and anon giving touching illustrations of its liveliness and strength.*

At the beginning of September, Mr. Chalmers left Hawick, that his preparations for the session might be completed at St. Andrews. Early in October, Mr. Cook resigned the living of Kilmany; and on the 2d of November, the Principal and professors cordially and unanimously agreed to elect Mr. Chalmers his successor. His parish being secured, and his preparations completed, he threw himself into the duties of the mathematical classes with all the fervour of an overflowing enthusiasm. He was ready to guide his students steadily and consecutively along a strictly scientific course; but as they trod that path, he would have all their bosoms to glow with the same philosophic ardours which inflamed his own; for to him the demonstrations of geometry were not mere abstractions to be curiously but unmovedly gazed at by the cold eye of speculation. A beauty and a glory hung over them which kindled the most glowing emotions in his breast. To his eye, his favourite science did not sit aloof and alone, in the pride of her peculiar methods disdaining communion with those of her fellows who tread the humbler walks of experience and induction. Links of sympathy bound her to them all—while to more than one of them she became the surest ally and closest friend. And all that his beloved science was to himself, he would have her to become to the youths in the class-room around him. Every obstacle that might hinder approach

* The reference here is to a very interesting correspondence, which may yet be given to the public.

or attachment, he sought to set aside; every side-light which might render her more attractive to youthful eyes, he threw upon her; every generous sentiment which could animate to a devoted following, he invoked and stimulated. "Under his extraordinary management," so writes one of his pupils,* "the study of mathematics was felt to be hardly less a play of the fancy than a labour of the intellect—the lessons of the day being continually interspersed with applications and illustrations of the most lively nature, so that he secured in a singular manner the confidence and attachment of his pupils."

He felt at the very outset that there was an initial obstacle to contend with—in the imagination that there was a certain mysterious difficulty about mathematical investigations, which only a few intellects, and these singularly constituted, could overcome. And it was thus that in one of his earliest lectures he set himself to remove it:—

"The most elevated doctrines of geometry lie open to the inquiries of any ordinary mind which can command its faculty of attention; for in the process of a mathematical discussion there is nothing desultory—there occurs no transition which it requires any uncommon power or rapidity of inference to follow—no interval which it requires the gigantic stride of a superior genius to cross. Are there any among you, gentlemen,† who labour under the discouraging impression that nature has unfitted you for an effectual prosecution of this science—that she forbids the attempt as hopeless and unavailing? I lament the impression as unfortunate—as an impression than which none is more likely to palsy your exertions and to blast every expectation of success. But what is more, it is an impression which is false. You suspect the liberality of nature when you ought to suspect

* The Rev. Dr. Duff, now minister of Kenmore.

† Extracted from MS. Lectures.

your own habits of application and industry. You impeach nature as being niggardly in her endowments, when you ought to impeach your own feeble and irresolute efforts—the listless indolence of a disposition that will not be aroused to activity at the generous call of ambition, or fired to exertion by all the allurements and honours of philosophy as she waves you to the sacred temple of renown, and bids you contemplate the fame of the illustrious dead who trod the lofty walks of discovery, and whose remembrance will never die."

The very opening of the text-book was suggestive. Euclid's Elements, and the French Revolution, they lie seemingly remote enough from one another. It was thus, however, that the fire of genius forged the connecting link :—

"These Elements of Euclid, gentlemen, have raised for their author a deathless monument of fame. For 2000 years they have maintained their superiority in the schools, and been received as the most appropriate introduction to geometry. It is one of the few books which elevate our respect for the genius of antiquity. It has survived the wreck of ages. It had its days of adversity and disgrace in the dark period of ignorance and superstition, when everything valuable in the literature of antiquity was buried in the dust and solitude of cloisters, and the still voice of truth was drowned in the jargon of a loud and disputatious theology. But it has been destined to reappear in all its ancient splendour. We ascribe not indeed so high a character to it because of its antiquity ; but why be carried away by the rashness of innovation ? why pour an indiscriminate contempt on systems and opinions because they are old ? Truth is confined to no age and to no country. Its voice has been heard in the Temple of Egypt, as well as in the European University. It has darted its light athwart the

gloom of antiquity, as well as given a new splendour to the illumination of modern times. We have witnessed the feuds of political innovation—the cruelty and murder which have marked the progress of its destructive career. Let us also tremble at the heedless spirit of reform which the confidence of a misguided enthusiasm may attempt in the principles and investigations of philosophy. What would have been the present degradation of science had the spirit of each generation been that of contempt for the labours and investigations of its ancestry? Science would exist in a state of perpetual infancy. Its abortive tendencies to improvement would expire with the short-lived labours of individuals, and the extinction of every new race would again involve the world in the gloom of ignorance. Let us tremble to think that it would require the production of a new miracle to restore the forgotten discoveries of Newton."

Mr. Chalmers could not mention Newton's name without laying down some tribute at his feet. Years afterwards, when in the full splendour of his fame, we shall find him in Newton's own University of Cambridge, surrounded by her assembled literati, pouring out, in glowing panegyric, one of the finest passages his pen ever produced. But even now, in the small class-room of St. Andrews, with twenty or thirty mere youths around him, it was thus that his passionate admiration burst forth:—

"Mathematics have been condemned as contracting the best affections of the heart—chilling the ardours of its benevolence—blasting its heavenward aspirations. Dr. Johnson, who possessed the power of genius without its liberality, and who appears to have cherished an immovable contempt for mathematics, has directed all the powers of his ridicule against the ludicrous peculiarities which he is pleased to ascribe to mathematicians. He conceives a fire raging in a neighbourhood, and

spreading destruction among many families; while all the noise and consternation is unable to disturb the immovable composure of a mathematician, who sits engrossed with his diagrams, deaf to all the sounds of alarm and of distress. His servants rush into his room, and tell him that the fire is spreading all around the neighbourhood. He observes simply, that it is very natural, for fire always acts in a circle,—and resumes his speculations.* You may be afraid to encounter a study which begets such insensibility. Let me tell you that your apprehensions are groundless, that it is not the effect of this study to divest you of all that is human, or to congeal the fervours of a benevolent or a devout heart. I appeal to the example of our illustrious countryman. Amid the splendours of his discoveries, and the proud elevation of his fame, Newton rejoiced in all the endearments of friendship. In the spirit of a mild and gentle benevolence, he maintained an inviolable serenity. It is said of him that he had the modesty of a child. In the society of his friends, the consciousness of his superiority seemed to desert him. His eye beamed with inexpressible benignity; he indulged in all the luxury of affection, and could descend to the sportful effusions of familiar intercourse. His fame went abroad through the world; but he would not confide his happiness to the treacherous breath of applause. He founded it on a more secure foundation. He felt it in the affectionate homage of those friends to whom his worth had endeared him. He felt it in the consciousness of an unblemished life—in the overpowering impressions of an adoring piety. Newton, we invoke thy genius! May it preside over our labours, and animate to the arduous ascent of philosophy. May it revive the drooping interests of science, and awaken the flame of enthusiasm in the hearts of a degenerate people. May it teach us that science without virtue is an empty parade, and that that philosophy de-

* See *Rambler*, No. xxiv. June 9, 1750.

serves to be extinguished which glances contempt on the sacred majesty of religion."

Spring came with its inviting call to idleness. But at the same time there came a call to strenuous effort, louder and more imperious than at any preceding period of the session; for now the last and most arduous ascent was to be made. The judicious and genial-hearted arbiter thus adjusted the rival claims:—

"In the subject that we are now to prosecute, I call for your patient and uninterrupted attention. The course is far advanced. The cheerfulness of the season presents new allurements to indolence, and withdraws the mind from the fatigues of painful and solitary reflection. It is difficult to resist the animating gaiety of nature. It is difficult, amid the charms of this her best season, to acquiesce in the restraints of discipline, or to brook the harassing confinement of study. God forbid that I should interrupt the harmless amusements or blast the innocent gaiety of youth. Let the morning of life be consecrated to enjoyment. May cheerfulness gladden your early years, and may your hearts retain the uncorrupted simplicity of virtue. May you long be preserved from the cares of advancing manhood, and never may your enjoyments be darkened by the horrors of remorse. May you live a life of pleasure, but a pleasure which is the reward of innocence. May you ever resist the enticements of that pleasure which would hurry you along the infatuated career of dissipation—which would lure you to destruction—which would condemn you to a life of infamy, and to a deathbed of horror and despair. I have too ardent and sincere an affection for youth to look with an eye of severity on their amusements, or to throw a damp over the sportive gaiety of their dispositions. Let me never interfere

with their enjoyments, but to convince them that a life of unlimited indolence will entail upon them all the miseries of languor and disgust; to convince them of the necessity of exertion; that industry invigorates the faculties and preserves them from decay; that activity sustains the energy of character; that the preparations of youth decide the respectability of manhood, and enrich the mind with the fairest treasures of cultivation and science and morality.

"Let the supreme importance, then, of the subject that is now to occupy us, animate and sustain your exertions. I again repeat my call to industry and to perseverance. It is uttered with solemnity; let it be heard with impression. It will indeed be mortifying if that career, which you have hitherto maintained with honour and applause, shall at last terminate in indolence and disgrace. You will excuse, therefore, my ardour in urging the efforts of a patient and persevering attention. They will conduct you in triumph to the termination of your studies—they will elevate your respect for science. You will look back with joyous exultation on the many hours you have devoted to the peaceful and improving labours of philosophy, and bless the day when you first attempted the proud career of victory and honour."

Into no generous breast could such sparks fall without enkindling a flame. It was a wholly new style of address to issue from the Chair claimed by the calmest of the Sciences. It broke in upon the common order; it might appear to jealous eyes even to infringe upon the dignity of an academic address. It was not unnatural that the old professor should be somewhat startled by the reports of such appeals; and his doubtfulness about them might be increased on finding that, taking the precedent of former years as his guide, the students were not as far advanced as they had formerly been at the same period of

the session. So strong in Mr. Chalmers was the appetite for the full intellectual sympathies of those whom he taught, that he could not move forward till every effort was made to carry the whole class along with him. His employer did not enter into, perhaps was incapable of sympathizing with the spirit of such a procedure. The very excitement and delight which were awakened among the students may have been displeasing to him. Doubts were expressed—jealousies arose—interferences took place—checks were attempted to be imposed. Such treatment could ill be brooked by one so keenly alive to everything which he considered ungenerous or unjust. Nor was Mr. Chalmers at any pains to conceal what he felt. In closing the session, he thus addressed his students:—

"In reviewing my labours as your mathematical instructor, I will not assert that I have been infallible, but I will assert that I have been anxious and sincere; that oppressed as I was by the want of time, I have improved it to the best of my judgment, and filled it up with the labours of an active and unremitting industry; that I have discharged my duty with integrity to my employer, and—let malignity frown when I say it—I have consecrated my best exertions to his service. Supported as I am by these reflections, you will not think that I profess too much when I profess contempt for the suggestions of an envious and unprincipled criticism—when I profess that sense of independence to which I feel myself entitled by the testimony of an approving conscience. You will not think that I say too much when I say that I have studied your interests with anxiety, if not with success. I have been anxious to maintain the purity of science, and to exercise that inviolable discipline which can alone protect the industrious from noisy interruption, and from the infection of irregular example. Let me now dismiss the authority of a master, and address you in

the language of sincere and affectionate friendship. May you ever be preserved from the deceitful allurements of vice. May you walk the proud career of integrity and honour; and while I live, I have a heart to feel and a voice to plead for your interests."

But it was not enough to unburden himself in his own class-room and in presence of his students; he was determined to say all and more than he had said there in a still more conspicuous place. It was the practice at that time in St. Andrews to have a public examination of all the classes at the end of each session, and in presence of all the professors. The scene in the Public Hall at the close of the session 1802-3, says one who witnessed it,* "was a singular one. When Dr. Rotheram, Professor of Natural Philosophy, had finished the examination of his class, Mr. Chalmers, whose classes were next in course, stepped forward to the table, and broke out into a severe invective against Professor Vilant, for having given testimonials to students without consulting him, their teacher. The speech was long and sarcastic. It was amusing to see the Academic Board; old Mr. Cook, irritated and vexed; Mr. Hill, puffy and fidgetty; Dr. Playfair, getting up twice or thrice and tugging the speaker by the arm; Dr. Hunter, with unvarying countenance, his eyes sedately fastened on the floor; Dr Rotheram, laughing and in anger by turns.† At length Dr. Hill interfered, and with some difficulty silenced Mr. Chalmers, who proceeded with the examination as coolly as if nothing had passed."

Mr. Chalmers had already intimated to his father that he meant to devote to a visit to Edinburgh the short interval which would occur between the breaking up of the classes at St.

* The Rev. Dr. Duff.

† Mr. Cook was Professor of Moral Philosophy; Mr. Hill, of Greek; Dr. Playfair was Principal of the College; Dr. Hunter, Professor of Humanity; and Dr. Hill, Professor of Divinity and Chairman of the Board.

Andrews and his settlement in Kilmàny. His father disliked the proposition. He knew how engrossed his son had been throughout the winter with mathematics. He looked forward with anxiety to the commencement of his ministry. He feared that science had the hold which he wished so much that the gospel of God's redeeming grace should have; and thinking that the short season which now remained ere the sacred duties of an ambassador of Christ were entered on might be more fitly and profitably employed, he ventured to remonstrate with his son—suggesting that as they had seen so little of him during the winter, he might give this interval to Anstruther, where he could find seclusion and repose. He received the following reply :—

"St. Andrews, *April* 28, 1803.

"Dear Father,—I am astonished that the measure proposed in my last should appear in the slightest degree objectionable. I hope that my principles as to the important subject alluded to are already established, and that they do not require any extraordinary exercises of reflection at present. I have had sufficient time for reflection, and I do not see how the relaxation of a few days should have any effect in overthrowing those calm and decided sentiments which I have already formed. I confess I like not those views of religion which suppose that the business, or even the innocent amusements of the world, have a dangerous tendency to unsettle the mind for serious and elevating exercises. It is my decided opinion that the charge of a congregation is of the first importance; and that if the sense of the duties which it imposes is not previously established in the mind by the exercises of a mature and well-digested reflection, it is vain to think that the extraordinary effort of a few days will very essentially contribute to preparation or to improvement.

"There is one thing of which you must be sensible—the diffi-

culty that one man lies under in explaining his motives and justifying his measures to another, whose pursuits and views are totally different. It is impossible, for instance, without entering into a long dissertation about the labours of superintending three classes—the comparative difficulty of the subjects that are introduced into each—the time necessary for arranging materials—for examining old exercises and framing new ones, &c., &c.; it is impossible to convince my friends that I cannot have a spare moment from my employments either to visit or converse with them. All my resource is, that they take my word for it; and if they refuse their belief, I must just submit to the imputation of indifference, however unjust I feel it. I must just submit to it, because from the very circumstances of my situation, it is out of my power to make myself intelligible.

"The same is the case with regard to the object of my journey to Edinburgh. It is impossible to explain to you how impressions of a man's character and talent are propagated in the literary public. In my present circumstances, I find it necessary to be in Edinburgh, to spend a day at least with the Edinburgh professors, and to counteract the artifices to which I feel myself exposed, from the attempts of an envious and unprincipled malignity.

"I beg you will not distress yourself by any suspicions as to my indifference to the parochial duties. From the infinite variety of men's dispositions, there must be different methods of expressing the feelings of their hearts; and they will employ different instruments for improving the purity of their purposes. I feel that the solitude of a few days would be to me a painful and unmeaning solemnity. Accuse me of indifference when you have observed me deficient in any of the essential duties—when you have observed me shrinking from any of those labours which the cares of a parish impose.—Yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

How easily might the argument of this letter have been retorted. Might not the very difficulty of explaining motives and justifying conduct complained of by the son, have been as pertinently pleaded by the father? The truth was, that on the greatest and most affecting of all subjects, the ground of a common understanding did not as yet exist between them. The father's suggestion had been set aside. It but remained for him in faith and with prayer to await the time, (and he lived to see it, and was glad,) when he should not only become intelligible, but secure the completest and profoundest sympathy.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST SUMMER AT KILMANY—A WINTER OF CONFLICT AND TRIUMPH AT ST. ANDREWS.

In looking from Dundee across the Firth of Tay, a low range of hills is seen to run from east to west along the Fifeshire coast. Immediately behind this ridge lies a sequestered valley, shut in upon the south by a second range of hills, running also nearly parallel to the coast-line. Of this well-watered and fertile valley, the parish of Kilmany forms a part. Its church and village stand at an equal distance—about five miles—from Cupar, the nearest market-town on the south; and on the north, from Newport, the principal ferry to Dundee. Of limited extent, its greatest length being not more than six, its greatest width not more than four miles, and with a purely agricultural population, numbering about 150 families, this parish presented a comparatively easy and very attractive sphere of ministerial labour. And there now came to it as its minister, one upon whose fresh and nature-loving spirit its sloping hills and peaceful valleys and rustic homesteads made the deepest and liveliest impression—an impression deeper indeed and livelier and more lasting than any other of the localities to which, in the course of his varied life, he became attached.

Mr. Chalmers was ordained by the Presbytery of Cupar as minister of the parish of Kilmany, on the 12th day of May, 1803. The manse was ill-placed, and old enough to warn its

occupant not to be too lavish of his attentions, lest he might cut off his hope of getting a new one built upon another and better site It had, however, to be made habitable—fit to receive Mr. Chalmers and two of his sisters who came to live with him. The arrangements of the in-door and out-door economy, in all of which he took the liveliest interest, the needful preparations for the pulpit, the visitation and examination of his parish, in the course of which, to use his own favourite phrase, moving, "with his affections flying before him," he made himself acquainted with every family, and familiar at every fireside—winning back from every household such rich responses of genuine gratitude, as such genuine good-will was so well fitted to draw forth,—these with a week given to Edinburgh, and a week to Angus, and a week to the meeting of the Synod, filled up the summer months. His visit to Angus was made that he might be present at the ordination, in the parish of Fern, of a college acquaintance, the Rev. David Harris:—

"I rode with him," says the Rev. Mr. Burns, "most part of the way to Brechin. I remember this circumstance. The church at Fern, at that time, was like most parish churches in the country, very mean, and the pews most inconveniently huddled together. No preparation had been made for the convenient assembling of the members of Presbytery round the brother to be ordained. Mr. Chalmers was not in a situation at all convenient for joining in the imposition of hands, and in fact did not join in the act. He seemed, however, to feel a good deal after the service was over on account of this unintentional neglect. He asked me repeatedly if it was not a great oversight he had fallen into—that he wished he had got his hands put on along with the brethren; but added, 'he supposed it was of no great consequence,' yet wished he had got nearer, so as to have placed his hand upon his friend's head.

His kindness of heart thus appeared in his regret at what he felt as an apparent want of attention, and a neglect of the duty of the day."

Mr. Chalmers had calculated on retaining the mathematical assistantship. His ordination at Kilmany might not of itself have prevented this: for six out of the eleven years during which his own teacher, Dr. Brown, had occupied that position, he was minister of the parish of Denino; and Kilmany, being only about nine miles distant, was not so remote from St. Andrews as to render a similar arrangement impracticable. At the close of the session, however—and after such a close who can wonder at it?—his employer gave him to understand that his services would not again be required. This summary dismissal not only tore him away from an occupation which he loved, and confined him to one in which he felt as yet but little interest, it seemed also to close up the avenue along which his brightest hopes had been moving. Inefficiency as a teacher had been alleged as the ground of it; and if that allegation were received, his prospects of academic distinction would be blasted. And was it thus that all his most cherished hopes were to be defeated? Was that hand, which had shut so sharply against him the way of return even for another winter to the mathematical class-room of St. Andrews, to be permitted to do him the still weightier injury of closing every door to university preferment? Not without a vigorous effort to repair this injury—to right this wrong! To clear his impeached reputation from the reproach which had been thrown upon it, he resolved to open next winter in St. Andrews mathematical classes of his own—rivals to those of the University. All opposition which might arise elsewhere he was fully prepared to brave; but there was one quarter in which, by early and kindly application, he fain would soften it down.

"KILMANY, *October* 18, 1808.

"DEAR FATHER,—You may perhaps by this time have heard of my intention to open mathematical classes next winter. I believe the measure will be opposed by a certain party of the St. Andrews professors; but I am sure they will not be able to ruin the success of my intended proceedings, except by having recourse to dishonourable practices. These artifices I shall be obliged to expose for my own vindication; but my chief anxiety is to reconcile you to the idea of not confining my whole attention to my ministerial employment. The fact is that no minister finds that necessary. Even at present I am able to devote as much time and as much attention to other subjects, as I will be under the necessity of doing next winter, and after all I discharge my duties, I hope, in a satisfactory manner. With regard to non-residence, that is only to last for six months. I have never been called to any incidental duty through the week but once, and I have the assurance of my two neighbours that they will attend to every ministerial office that may be necessary. Your apprehensions, with regard to the dissatisfaction of the parishioners, are, I can assure you, quite groundless. I feel the footing on which I stand with them, and am certain that no serious or permanent offence will ever be excited. * * * —Yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

St. Andrews lies so much out of the line of the great rolling current of public life, that in general it enjoys a very unbroken rest. The genius of the place is repose—a repose, however, which, startled from its slumbers by the step of this bold invader from Kilmany, was now for a season effectually put to flight. The professors met in hurried consultation—the students were agitated and divided—the hearts of many siding with the youthful devotee, who came to redeem his injured scientific honour. The general public, dependent either for actual subsistence

or for all social fellowship upon the colleges, looked with wonder at the sight of an open and declared rivalry establishing itself within the very shadow of the University. A brief and broken journal of this memorable winter is still preserved, exhibiting in its pages the tossings of the stormy waters:—

"*Thursday, Oct.* 27.—Came in to St. Andrews. Called on Mr. Duff, and am told by him that Dr. Hunter mentioned that a paper was to be read at the first meeting of all the classes—stating that four winters' attendance, and attendance upon *all* the University classes, was necessary for admission into the Divinity College. Have pretty decided suspicions that this is an interference with the authority of the Church. Called on Mrs. M——. She expresses her fears that the attendance of her son on my class would hurt him with the professors; but at the same time says, that if all were left to themselves, I would experience a numerous support.

"*Friday, Oct.* 28.—Called on Mr. Cook, jun., (Professor of Hebrew,)—an explanation with him amounting to a dismissal. Mr. Grierson (a tutor*) says he is not warranted to send his pupil to my classes; but, circumstances being equal, knows what he would do.

"*Tuesday, Nov.* 1.—Delivered an Introductory Lecture."

Referring to his present position as compared with that which he occupied at the beginning of the preceding session, he said—"True, I am different from what I was, but the difference is only in external circumstances. I feel not that my energies have expired, though I no longer tread that consecrated ground where the Muses have fixed their residence. I feel not that science has deserted me, though I breathe not the air which ventilates the halls of St. Salvator. * * * I have only to

* James Grierson, M.D., afterwards minister of Cockpen.

lift my eyes and behold the students of a former session. With them I was wont to indulge in all the intimacies of friendship. A summer spent in the labours of my profession has not effaced them from my memory. I will say more; it has not effaced them from my affections. I bless the remembrance of that day when they first attempted the high career of science. It was to me a day of triumph. It is from that day I date the first rising of my literary ambition—an ambition which can only expire with the decay of my intellectual faculties. My appearance in this place may be ascribed to the worst of passions; some may be disposed to ascribe it to the violence of a revengeful temper—some to stigmatize me as a firebrand of turbulence and mischief. These motives I disclaim. I disclaim them with the pride of an indignant heart which feels its integrity. My only motive is, to restore that academical reputation which I conceive to have been violated by the aspersions of envy. It is this which has driven me from the peaceful silence of the country—which has forced me to exchange my domestic retirement for the whirl of contention."

"*Wednesday, Nov.* 2.—I have heard no particular animadversions by the professors, but a lively apprehension on the part of the students of their displeasure. Mr. A. called, and regretted deeply the necessity under which he lay of attending T., from the fear of being stopped next winter. This the subject of an interesting description. Heard that the students are afraid of injustice in the Library from their attendance upon me. Mr. D. risks the loss of a bursary, so must be the object of my particular attention.

"*Monday, Nov.* 7.—Mr. V. sent for Mr. Kid on Saturday—prevailed on him to give his word of honour not to attend my class. T. sent for Mr. D.,—rated him for soliciting students to attend me, and threatened to carry him before the University

Meeting for his conduct. I have certain information of Dr. R. giving the impression that I broke faith with him.*

"*Wednesday, Nov.* 9.—Wrote yesterday to Dr. R., respecting an impression he had given to my prejudice. No answer to-day.

"*Thursday, Nov.* 10.—Received an evasive answer from Dr. R. My reply sent back in an insulting manner, without an answer, though opened, and with a message that he wished no more lines from me.

"*Friday, Nov.* 11.—Went to Dr. R. on the street between ten and eleven, A.M., and said to him that I was sorry, from the proceedings of last night, to be under the necessity of pronouncing him the author of a false and impudent calumny. Called W. V. to witness, and repeated before him the same words. W. V. said that I ought to be prosecuted. Dr. R. left me in great agitation, saying, '*I will* prosecute him.'

"*Monday, Nov.* 14.—Heard James Hunter say that Dr. R. met him at twelve on Friday much agitated. He said that I had called him a notorious liar, both to himself and in W. V.'s hearing. Hear of advice having been sent for to Edinburgh on the subject of me and Dr. R., in consequence of his having consulted the Society.

"*Wednesday, Nov.* 16.—Heard Mr. Duff say that Dr. Hunter was sure that Dr. R. must have given me his vote before he understood I was to be Vilant's assistant.

"*Sunday, Nov.* 20.—Supped with Dr. Adamson. An awkwardness, which I think will wear off from him in time.

"*Monday, Nov.* 21.—Mr. J. Hunter has changed his hour from five to two; upon which I change my practical class from two to five.

* What Dr. R. alleged was, that Mr. Chalmers had promised to him, when he gave him his vote for Kilmany, that he would not teach a second session in St. Andrews.

"*Tuesday, Nov.* 22.—Mrs. Barron expressed to Dr. Brown her disapprobation of the violent opposition I experienced. She was frank to-day when I met her.

"*Wednesday, Nov.* 23.—Understand that Dr. R.'s account of our quarrel is almost universally believed in town, and has a strong effect to my prejudice.

"*Thursday, Nov.* 24.—Hear from Dr. Brown that the Barrons discover a strong tendency to reconciliation.

"*Saturday, Nov.* 26.—Left Mr. Gillespie of Mountquhannie and Dr. Greenlaw with the best impressions of the St. Andrews business. The former I found under prejudices.

"*Tuesday, Dec.* 6.—Announced this day my intention of teaching chemistry, and have got eight enrolments in consequence.

"*Wednesday, Dec.* 7.—Met Dr. Hunter, who was more than usually civil.

"*Friday, Dec.* 9.—T. keen-set against the chemistry class—says that I must be insufficient, because chemistry is the work of a lifetime.

"*Wednesday, Dec.* 14.—Drank tea in Mrs. Vilant's. Heard there that a great number of people are highly disposed to favour my intentions of teaching chemistry.

"*Friday, Dec.* 18.—Heard Dr. Brown say that the Playfairs are very silent and reserved on the subject of my chemistry, and disposed to doubt my habits of experimenting.

"*Monday, Dec.* 19.—Delivered my introductory Chemical Lecture to a full and respectable audience."*

"*January* 24, 1804.—A considerable noise and conversation in town to-day on the subject of my numerous and splendid audience, and interesting discussion yesternight in the chemistry.

"*January* 30.—Dr. Brown tells me that the Hunters dis-

* For extracts from this and other Lectures on Chemistry, see Appendix D.

cover strong symptoms of reconciliation. The Doctor expresses surprise that I ever should have suspected him of opposition.

"*February* 6.—Dr. Brown tells me that all over the town the impression is most decidedly in favour of me and of my chemistry."

He had three classes of mathematics, as well as this class of chemistry to prepare for, and conduct; he had besides the pulpit of Kilmany to supply, going out generally to the manse every Saturday, and returning early every Monday; yet he wrote to his father as if he had now got into and was breathing the proper element of his being:—"*March* 14.—My hands are full of business. I am living just now the life I seem to be formed for—a life of constant and unremitting activity. Deprive me of employment, and you condemn me to a life of misery and disgust."

The impression could scarcely be otherwise than favourable to his chemistry.* The following extract, as we shall find here-

* His lectures, many of which still exist, were fully written out; his experiments were carefully selected and prepared; while with the strictly scientific, which formed the main staple of his instructions, there mingled occasionally such passages as the following:—

"The invention of the new nomenclature must be regarded as a most brilliant era in the history of this science. For this capital improvement the world is principally indebted to the genius of Lavoisier, a gentleman of France, who with a fortune sufficient to secure to him all the gratifications of luxury, all the splendours of a princely establishment, gave his time and his enthusiasm to the science of chemistry. But his chemistry did not rob him of his virtue, nor did it repress the ardours of an enlightened patriotism. He bore a distinguished part in the first scenes of the French Revolution; but afterwards withdrew from the management of public affairs, disgusted by the sanguinary and unprincipled excesses of Robespierre. He wrote to a friend in the country, that he had now withdrawn for ever from public employment, and meant to devote the remainder of his days to the sciences. But the malignity of the tyrant pursued him to his retreat, and hurried him to the scaffold whilst pursuing a magnificent train of chemical experiments. Thus ended the days of Lavoisier, and every friend of philosophy wept his fall.

* * * * * * * * *

"Science is often disgraced by the affectations of pedantry, and a pedantic chemist is to me the most insufferable of all animals—a being who rests his pretensions to glory on a row of mineralogical specimens on the shelf of his chimney,

after, has a higher interest attached to it than any which mere eloquence could bestow. After an enumeration of the earths, allusion was made to the then infant science of Geology:—

and who conceives himself surrounded with the dignity of a philosopher, because he sits enthroned amid a formidable array of crucibles and melting-pots—a being who has renounced the simplicity of his mother-tongue, and clothes the most familiar occurrences in the cabalistic phraseology of chemistry—a being who will theorize at dinner on the analysis of a pudding, while his admiring hearers are far better employed in eating it. * * *

"It is supposed by some that philosophy lets herself down when she employs her attention upon the servile and degrading offices of cookery. We can bear to hear of the philosophy of the mind, of the philosophy of mechanics, of the philosophy of agriculture, of the philosophy of medicine; but it was reserved for this age of wonders to hear a series of grave and didactic lectures on the philosophy of the kitchen. Let it be remembered, however, that philosophy is never more usefully and never more honourably directed than when multiplying the stores of human comfort and subsistence—than when enlightening the humblest departments of industry—than when she leaves the school of declamation and descends to the walks of business, to the dark and dismal receptacles of misery, to the hospitals of disease, to the putrid houses of our great cities, where poverty sits in lonely and ragged wretchedness, agonized with pain, faint with hunger, and shivering in a frail and unsheltered tenement. Count Rumford deserves the gratitude of mankind; though it must be observed of his philosophy that it is often weak and ostentatious, and gives an air of ridiculous solemnity to the most trivial and insignificant discussions—a solemnity that has drawn upon it the severe and successful irony of Dr. Wolcott. The Doctor, in a note to one of his poems addressed to Count Rumford, amuses his reader with a literal extract from one of the Count's economical performances, only reserving to himself the liberty of giving a title to this said extract, which is, 'Count Rumford's method of laying siege to a hasty-pudding.'—The Count directs that the hasty-pudding 'be spread out equally on a plate,' that 'while hot, an excavation is to be made in the middle of it with a spoon, into which excavation a piece of butter as large as a nutmeg is to be put, and upon it a spoonful of brown sugar, or more commonly molasses. The butter being soon melted by the heat of the pudding, mixes with the sugar or molasses, and forms a sauce, which being confined in the excavation made for it, occupies the middle of the plate.' A small portion of the pudding is then to be lifted in a spoon from the circumference of the dish, and dipped into the excavation; and the Count does not fail to give us the very necessary information, that each spoonful is to be carried from the plate to the mouth; 'care being had in taking it up to begin at the outside, or near the brim of the plate, and to approach the centre by regular advances, in order not to demolish too soon the excavation which forms the reservoir of the sauce.' 'Admirable display,' says Peter Pindar, 'of military tactics. Nobler generalship could not have been exhibited by Marlborough or Turenne, or even by the great Bonaparte himself.' "—See *A Poetical Epistle to Benjamin Count Rumford*—*Works of Peter Pindar*, vol. v. p. 129. London, 1812.

"It is the object of geology to lay before you the present arrangement of those materials of which the earth is composed, to conjecture the various changes which may have taken place on the surface of the globe, and to pursue the history of its physical revolutions. This you may say is a daring enterprise; but what enterprise too daring for the intrepidity of philosophical speculation?—who can presume to restrain the flight of human curiosity?—who can control the proud and aspiring energies of the mind?—who can stop the ambitious excursions of philosophy? I know nothing more calculated to illustrate the triumphs of the human mind than to contrast its gigantic efforts in the walks of speculation with the extreme helplessness and imbecility of our physical constitution. Man is the being of yesterday; he is a flower which every blast of heaven can wither into decay; the breath of his life is a thin vapour which every wind can dissipate into nothing; his inheritance is the gloom of a silent grave, where he will sleep with the dust of his fathers. He is the poor victim of passion and of infirmity; from the feeble cry of infancy to the strength and independence of manhood, a thousand ills pursue him—a thousand anxieties torment his repose. He at one time labours under the hardships of poverty; at another, pines away in the infirmity of disease; at another, weeps the treachery of violated friendship; and at another, mourns the awful desolations which death makes among friends and among families. Yet, amid this wild war of accident and misfortune he has displayed the triumph of his energies; he has given his few peaceful moments to the labours of philosophy; he has sent abroad his penetrating eye, and caught the finest tokens of magnificence, simplicity, and order; he has enriched science with a thousand truths, and adorned the walks of literature with a thousand delicacies. There is a prejudice against the speculations of the geologist which I am anxious to remove. It has been said that they nur-

ture infidel propensities. By referring the origin of the globe to a higher antiquity than is assigned to it by the writings of Moses, it has been said that geology undermines our faith in the inspiration of the Bible, and in all the animating prospects of immortality which it unfolds. This is a false alarm. *The writings of Moses do not fix the antiquity of the globe. If they fix anything at all, it is only the antiquity of the species.* It is not the interest of Christianity to repress liberty of discussion. It has nothing to fear from the attacks of infidelity. It should rather defy her approach, and stand to receive her in the proudest of attitudes—the attitude of confidence in its own strength, and animated by the remembrance of the triumphs which it has already gained in the battles of controversy. God knows we have little to fear on the side of infidelity. It is not here that we are to seek for the point of alarm. What Christianity has most to fear from, is from the encroachments of an insidious and undermining fanaticism—from its false friends—from those men who disgrace the cause by their bigotry or their enthusiasm—from those who have brought religion into contempt by throwing over it the deformity of an illiberal and contracted superstition."

No hostile influences could quench the admiration which kindled around such a lectureship. The tide of opposition was already fast subsiding—it was now turned into a tide of applause, bearing the lecturer on its swelling bosom high above all the difficulties of his position. Even from the beginning there had been much in that position to win favour in the eyes of the independent and the generous-hearted. The impetuous manliness—the open-hearted honesty—the unwavering purpose—the indomitable energy displayed—these went far to redeem it from the charge of impropriety and imprudence; whilst in the very act of a single unbefriended youth braving the gathered enmity

of a university that he might wipe away a stain from his injured literary honour, there was a scientific chivalry, kindling in many a breast a glow of approving sympathy, which no frown of official authority could extinguish. Even the stern gravity of office was at length relaxed; for although there was something of rude violence in the onset made by this invader of all university decorum, yet much of the true academic spirit broke out at every stage of the assault. It was not that he loved his *alma mater* less—it was that he loved her all too well, that he was heard now thundering so impetuously at her gates. And although strong personal feeling was at times expressed, such a genial humanity breathed about him who uttered it, that the very professor upon whom his stroke at first seemed to fall the heaviest, was one of the first to extend to him the forgiving hand of friendship.

But while all was growing bright before him at St. Andrews, all grew dark behind him at Kilmany. Some of the ministers of his Presbytery resolved to bring his conduct before that court, with the view either to impose a check or inflict a censure. It was bad enough in his eye that ecclesiastical despotism should grasp and try to use against him such a weapon. What made it doubly worse was that it had never thought of using this instrument when dealing with far greater delinquents than himself. But what in his estimation crowned with intolerable offensiveness this threatened act of discipline, was the fact, that for years his predecessor had been permitted unchecked and uncensured to do the very thing for which he was to be condemned. In anticipation of being summoned before the Presbytery, and in the belief that he would be summarily required to dismiss his classes, he wrote the following explanation and defence:—

"My intention to reside in St. Andrews originated in a motive which I contend is justifiable. Is it unjustifiable to extend

your literary reputation, or to restore it when you conceive that that reputation is violated? Can this be denounced as a criminal ambition? It originated in a desire to acquit myself to the public as a mathematical teacher, with a view to justify my claims to academical preferment. Can this be branded as an unprincipled enormity? It originated in attachment to my pupils, and in a wish to conduct them to the termination of those studies which they had so successfully begun. Can this be alleged as the evidence of a hardened indifference to the feelings or considerations of morality? Few of you are perhaps acquainted with the peculiarities of my situation as assistant teacher in the mathematical classes of St. Andrews University. I felt my business to be agreeable; I rejoiced in the education of youth as the most important and delightful exercise of a man's powers; but before one-half of the session had elapsed, I felt myself surrounded with all the cares and perplexities of opposition. Unfortunate misunderstandings arose, which it is neither for you to hear nor for me at present to explain. I shall only say that I was deserted both by my employer and the University, and my career as the mathematical assistant was at last closed by the ignominy of a dismissal from my employment. I was now disposed of. I was consigned to the obscurity of the country. I was compelled to retire in disgrace, and leave the field to my exulting enemies. They had gained their object—a name expunged from the list of competition—no further disturbance from interlopers—no literary upstart to emulate their delicious repose, or to outstrip them in public esteem—no ambitious intruder to dispel our golden dreams of preferment, or to riot along with us in the rich harvest of benefices. I have few friends—no patronage to help me forward in the career of an honourable ambition. All that I had to trust in was my academic reputation and the confidence of an enlightened public. But where is the enlightened public

to which a slandered mathematician may appeal? There is no more such an enlightened public in St. Andrews than there is in the interior of Africa. But I had one consolation; I was supported by the respectful attachment of my students. But even to their progress, my appeal was far from being effectual. I had only taught them one session; I had only initiated them into the elements of the science. I was proud enough to think that I had succeeded in inspiring a taste and an ardour for mathematical learning. I was proud enough to think that if they persevered as they had begun, they would be to me the most honourable of all testimonies. At the end of last winter, I had no formed mathematicians to whom I could appeal, as the argument of a successful or conscientious teacher. The credit of my more advanced students was divided between me and my predecessor; the credit of the students whom I initiated, between me and him who had succeeded me. What could I do? Was I to leave my reputation to the candour of the University, or to the testimony of him who had disgraced me? I confess I felt no such confidence. I foresaw an end to all my hopes of literary distinction. I had nothing to expect from the spirit of a grasping monopoly. I must either have resigned myself to the silence of despair, or attempted the testimony of an independent public.*

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"I am not able to guess at the precise object of the gentleman in the public appearance he has just made. Does he mean that I should desert my classes, and renounce the interests of those whose friendship has consoled my feelings in the hour of perplexity? Does he mean that I should surrender those few who remained with me in my worst days, and rallied to support me amid the storms of persecuting violence? I will say it, in my cause they have evinced a spirit of the most exalted virtue.

* For some intervening paragraphs in this defence, see Appendix E.

They have withstood the allurements of interest. They have defied the threats of persecution. They have spurned at the cold and withering suggestions of prudence. They have sacraficed all at the shrine of friendship; and though surrounded with the most corrupting atmosphere, to which the manly and independent virtues were exposed, they have maintained the purity of an untainted honour, and the fidelity of an inviolable attachment. And are these the men whom the gentleman would force me to desert? Is this the painful humiliation he would impose upon me? Shall I leave them to the ridicule and triumph of those whom their attachment to me has rendered their enemies? He talks of the religious interests of my parish. I know nothing from which religion has suffered so severely as from the disgrace of its teachers. Compel me to retire from my classes, and you give a blow to the religious interests of my parish which all the punctualities of discipline will never restore. You render me the laughing-stock of the country; you cover me with infamy; you render me the object of public contempt and public execration. Compel me to retire, and I shall be fallen indeed. I would feel myself blighted in the eyes of all my acquaintances. I would never more lift up my face in society. I would bury myself in the oblivion of shame and solitude. I would hide me from the world. I would be overpowered by the feeling of my own disgrace. The torments of self-reflection would pursue me; they would haunt my dreams; they would lay me on a bed of torture; they would condemn me to a life of restless and never-ceasing anxiety. Death would be to me the most welcome of all messengers. It would cut short the remainder of my ignominious days. It would lay me in the grave's peaceful retreat. It would withdraw me from the agitations of a life that has been persecuted by the injustice of enemies, and still more distracted by the treachery of violated friendship."

The subject was not brought before the Presbytery so soon as he had expected. On the evening of the day on which this speech was delivered, the following hurried note was despatched to Dr. Brown at St. Andrews:—

"CUPAR, *May* 8, 1804.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You will be surprised to hear that the long threatened discussion was at last introduced into the Presbytery this day. It met with the fate it deserved—was quashed and reprobated. The discussions were all in public. A numerous audience attended, and our argumentation lasted two hours. —Yours, with much esteem, THOMAS CHALMERS."

CHAPTER IV.

CHEMICAL LECTURES REPEATED AT ST. ANDREWS—PRESBYTERIAL INTERFERENCE—CANDIDATE FOR THE NATURAL PHILOSOPHY CHAIR AT ST. ANDREWS, AND FOR THE MATHEMATICAL CHAIR AT EDINBURGH—FIRST PUBLICATION—CHEMICAL LECTURES AT KILMANY AND CUPAR—DOUBLE COMMISSION IN THE VOLUNTEERS—INCIDENT AT KIRKALDY—HIS FATHER'S CHARACTER—HIS BROTHER GEORGE'S DEATH.

His chemical lectures had been so highly relished, that Mr. Chalmers readily consented to repeat them during the next winter session at St. Andrews. A summer's interval of leisure would enable him to render them more complete and more attractive. Their delivery would not call him away from Kilmany for more than two or three days in each week; and as he had relinquished the intention of re-opening mathematical classes, it was his hope that no further Presbyterial interference would be attempted. But he was disappointed.

At a meeting of the Presbytery of Cupar, held on the 4th September 1804, "Dr. Martin begged the Presbytery to insert in their minutes that, in his opinion, Mr. Chalmers giving lectures in chemistry is improper, and ought to be discontinued. To this request the Presbytery acceded. On which Mr. Chalmers begged it to be inserted in the minutes, that after the punctual discharge of his professional duties, his time was his own; and he conceived that no man or no court had a right to control him in the distribution of it."* It was only in the morning

* Extracted from the Minutes of Presbytery.

of the very day on which the Presbytery met that Mr. Chalmers got intelligence of Dr. Martin's intention. He retired for the brief interval of time which remained, and then started for Cupar, with the following hurriedly written sentences prepared in the way of defence:—

"MODERATOR,—In the olden times, ecclesiastical persecution doomed one of its victims to be heavily fined; it doomed another to imprisonment; another, to the loss of his ears; and another, to the horrors of execution. Now, I would fain hope that the gentleman's appearance arises rather from an error in judgment than from the workings of an unfair and arbitrary disposition. He may perhaps think, that what is perfectly lawful in professors and professors' sons, is great presumption and great vice in a poor literary pedlar, who trudges on to his literary station with a bundle of manuscripts and old wares from the country. Whatever rank, however, my brethren of the Presbytery may choose to assign to me, I must protest against the unequal distribution of punishment. They know it is not in their power to inflict execution. Such is the happy constitution of our country that my ears are completely protected from their violence. As to imprisonment, I shall resist them with all my might if they attempt to confine me within the boundaries of my parish; but as to fines, such is my confidence in the equity of our worthy comptroller, that I will pay down with cheerfulness whatever he shall think my delinquency deserves.

"I have thought that the fundamental error of this business consists in beginning the inquiry at the wrong end. The gentleman sees me indulging in an amusement that is certainly foreign to the nature of my profession, but not more so than the amusements of feasting, and playing, and music, and painting—indulgences which we all enjoy, and from which no absurd scruple of conscience ought to keep us. Suppose that any of my

brethren is much given to the dilettante occupation of music, the Presbytery, I should presume, would never think of disturbing his enjoyment, unless he was so exclusively devoted to his favourite exercise as to desert his sermons—desert his examinations—desert his attention to the sick. You tolerate him in his indulgence, and why? because you find that the duties which belong to his ministerial office are punctually executed. Should not the same reason apply in equity to the case before us? I am indulging in a favourite amusement. You have no right to presume that I am therefore deserting the duties of my professional employment. Such presumption at least does not supersede the necessity of inquiry. Now, let the gentleman traverse the boundaries of my parish; let him begin with the houses of my wealthy proprietors, and descend to the lowest tenements of poverty and disease, I will defy him to find a single individual who can substantiate the charge of culpable negligence against me. I will defy him to find a single individual who will say that I have been outstripped by any of my predecessors in the regularity of my ministerial attentions, or who will say that he has discovered any thing in my conduct which betokened a contempt for religion or indifference to its sacred interests. What more will the gentleman require of me? Has he any right to control me in the distribution of my spare time? I maintain he has none. I spurn at the attempt as I would at the petty insolence of a tyrant; I reject it as the interference of an officious intermeddler. To the last sigh of my heart I will struggle for independence, and eye with proud disdain the man who presumes to invade it."

In November, the chemical lectures were resumed at St. Andrews. On the 10th of that month, Mr. Chalmers writes to his brother:—

"Dear James,—You allude to the quantity of business I

have in hand. This is neither more nor less than teaching a class of chemistry in St. Andrews during the winter. It only withdraws me from my parish two days in the week. It affords a rational and dignified amusement, and it fills up that spare time which I would otherwise fret away in indolence and disgust. It did not altogether meet my father's approbation at first, influenced as he was by his scruples about clerical residence; but he must now be convinced that it trenches upon no essential duty, and that I expend as much effort upon the religious improvement of my people as any minister within the bounds of my Presbytery.—Yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The offence taken at the proceedings of the foregoing winter could neither have been very deep nor very lasting. Dr. Rotheram, the Professor of Natural Philosophy, had died. His chair was in the gift of the College, and the election was to take place in December. Along with Mr. Duncan, now Professor of Mathematics at St. Andrews, then Rector of the Academy at Dundee, and with Mr. Leslie, who had just completed and published his researches on Heat, Mr. Chalmers proposed himself as a candidate. Overlooking the claims of all the three, the electors were divided between Dr. Macdonald, minister of Kemback, and Mr. Jackson, Rector of Ayr Academy, who finally —and after a lengthened litigation, terminated only in the House of Lords—obtained the chair.

After the occurrences of the former session, Mr. Chalmers' hopes could not have been very sanguine. On the day of election, he writes to his father:—"*St. Andrews, Dec.* 1, 1804.—The meeting is not yet broken up, but I have every reason to think that Dr. Adamson's party have a decided tendency to Mr. Jackson. I confess I am not much affected by the disappointment, as my University prospects have upon the whole bright-

ened up within the last fortnight, as my election would have involved me in the embarrassment of a law process, and above all, as my contempt for the low shuffling artifices of college politics supports and elevates my mind against the vexation of regret."

In January 1805, the University of Edinburgh was deprived of one of its brightest ornaments by the death of Dr. Robison. As University patrons, the Town Council offered his chair, that of Natural Philosophy, to Mr. Playfair, by whose acceptance of it the mathematical professorship became vacant. Mr. Chalmers presented himself to the notice of the patrons as aspiring to be Mr. Playfair's successor; but although his claims were in many quarters favourably entertained, and the reception given him when he waited personally on the electors was gratifying, two other candidates had, at the very commencement of the canvass, chiefly attracted and almost engrossed the public regards. The Rev. Mr. Macknight, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, who had acted as assistant to Dr. Robison, was at first willing to resign his ministerial charge upon his appointment to the professorship, but was afterwards induced by his clerical friends to advance his claim to the one office on the understood condition that he should retain the other. Professor Stewart, alarmed at the prospect of such a conjunction, addressed an urgent letter of remonstrance to the Lord Provost, which was followed by one of similar import from Professor Playfair. Of their fears as to Mr. Macknight's appointment they were soon relieved, his name having been withdrawn, and Mr. Leslie's pre-eminent claims having secured to him the appointment. In the prolonged and painful conflict which his election originated, Mr. Chalmers was not personally engaged, as, differing from both parties in the strife, he could have been the advocate of neither. Its initial stage, however, called forth his earliest publication.

In his letter to the Lord Provost, Mr. Playfair had not only alleged that there were very few Scottish clergymen eminent in Mathematics or Natural Philosophy, but that the vigorous and successful pursuit of these sciences was incompatible with clerical duties and habits. This "cruel and illiberal insinuation" against "the whole order of Churchmen" was not to be suffered, without one effort at least being made to repel it.

"KILMANY, *Sept.* 3, 1805.

"DEAR JAMES,—The dull and unvaried course of a clergyman's life offers little new or interesting for a resident in London, though I have attempted to enliven my situation a little by other employments. Among other things, I have lately come forward as a candidate for literary fame in the lists of authorship. My performance is entitled 'Observations on a Passage in Mr. Playfair's Letter to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, relative to the Mathematical Pretensions of the Scottish Clergy.' I have been flattered by some literary judges into the idea that all that is necessary for the success of my pamphlet is that it be fairly introduced to the notice of the public. Among others, I have sent fifty copies to Longman and Rees, London. Will you find it convenient to call at their shop, and ascertain how the copies are likely to be disposed of? The sale has been beyond my expectation in this neighbourhood. If it takes in London, I may be expecting a demand for a second edition. This you will perhaps be able to ascertain.—I am, yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

His brother in London had already received other intimations of the canvass at Edinburgh, and its results.

"ANSTRUTHER, *Feb.* 28, 1805.

"DEAR JAMES,—I am rather concerned about Thomas. He

is a candidate for being Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. He is very clever, and I have no doubt of his fitness for that situation; but then his youth, opposed to the greatest ability, experience, and interest in the country makes me doubt of his success, and disappointment rather crushes an aspiring young man. I should feel more comfortable were he to cultivate his present situation.—I am, yours affectionately, JOHN CHALMERS."

"ANSTRUTHER, *Oct.* 18, 1805.

"DEAR JAMES,—As to Thomas's publication, it is acknowledged on all hands to be clever enough; but as to serving his own ends, whatever these may be, I scarcely think he has taken the mode that now leads to preferment, for he flatters no man.—I am, yours affectionately, JOHN CHALMERS."

The truth was that the writer had no ends of his own to serve, beyond unburdening himself of the indignation which Mr. Playfair's allegations had excited, and repelling what he regarded as an attempt to "wrest from his whole order what he knew to be the pride and consolation of several of its members—the hope of literary distinction." Some years afterwards, about the time of his removal to Glasgow, Mr. Chalmers did all that he could to suppress this earliest of his publications, and that chiefly on account of its low estimate of the duties and responsibilities of the Christian ministry. "The author of this pamphlet," he had said, "can assert, from what to him is the highest of all authority, the authority of his own experience, that after the satisfactory discharge of his parish duties, a minister may enjoy five days in the week of uninterrupted leisure for the prosecution of any science in which his taste may dispose him to engage. * * *

"The author of the foregoing observations keeps back his name from the public as a thing of no consequence. With Mr.

Playfair, whose mind seems so enlightened by well-founded associations, it will probably be enough to know that the author is a clergyman; a member of the stigmatized caste; one of those puny antagonists with whom it would be degrading to enter into the lists of controversy; one of those ill-fated beings whom the malignant touch of ordination has condemned to a life of ignorance and obscurity; a being who must bid adieu, it seems, to every flattering anticipation, and drivel out the remainder of his days in insignificance."*

There were other means besides authorship of enlivening the dulness of ministerial life. The chemical lectureship had not yet exhausted its powers. It had been most favourably received at St. Andrews; why not repeat it elsewhere? Acting on the strong faith which he always cherished in the capabilities of the popular understanding, when properly approached and rightly spoken to, Mr. Chalmers delivered a course of chemical lectures to his parishioners at Kilmany.† Cupar, the county town, was next favoured with a visit from the itinerant devotee. Nor was it a mere figure of speech which he had employed when he spoke of carrying with him his old wares from the country into the lecturing-place, as was unluckily evidenced in one of his visits at this time to Cupar; when mounted with his chemi-

* Other extracts from the pamphlet are given, Appendix F.

† Among other experiments, the powers of the bleaching liquids were exhibited. Soon after the exhibition, two of the old wives of Kilmany had the following colloquy:—"Our minister," said the one, "is naething short o' a warlock; he was teaching the folk to clean claes but (without) soap." "Aye, woman," was the reply, "I wish he wad teach me to mak parritch BUT meal."

They had been somewhat anticipated by Peter Pindar, who, in the Epistle referred to in a preceding note, thus apostrophizes Count Rumford:—

"Say, canst thou make, whose brains have not their fellows,
Fire blow itself without a pair of bellows?
Soon shall we see a haunch with equal wit,
Turn round and roast itself without a spit;
Fish without frying-pans come hot and hot,
And dumplings boil themselves without a pot."

cal apparatus before him, one of the bottles which he was carrying unfortunately broke, and poured its burning contents down the horse's shoulder, leaving a discoloured belt to tell of the strange catastrophe.

Devoted though he was to those severer exercises of the intellect which are prosecuted in the solitude of the student's chamber, Mr. Chalmers was alive to all the great public movements of the stirring period at which he entered public life. The excesses of the French Revolution had quenched his earlier hopes, which had yielded to exciting alarms. The war with France, in which there had been a temporary respite during the few months which he had spent at Cavers, broke out afresh about the very time of his settlement in Kilmany, its ordinary terrors being heightened by the threat of invasion, which for a few years hung like a lowering thunder-cloud over the land. From the first moment of his starting on his meteor-like career, Bonaparte had been to Mr. Chalmers an object of the most intense interest. He recognised in him ere long the destroyer of his own country's liberties—the disturber of Europe's peace—the threatener of Britain's independence; and it was now believed that he was mustering his armies along the French coast, and looking across the channel to this country as his next theatre of war and conquest. Every instrument by which, in the prospect of such an emergency, the generous ardours of the people could be stirred up was employed. The aid of the ministers of religion was invoked. From every pulpit of the land there came a voice, varied according to the spirit and character of its occupant. It was a thrillingly martial one which on this occasion issued from the pulpit of Kilmany, finding its climax in the exclamation—"May that day when Bonaparte ascends the throne of Britain be the last of my existence; may I be the first to ascend the scaffold he erects to extinguish the worth and spirit of the country; may my blood mingle with the blood of patriots; and may

I die at the foot of that altar on which British independence is to be the victim."*

The preacher was quite ready to make good his words. Soon after the volunteers were organized, he enrolled himself in the St. Andrews corps, holding a double commission as chaplain and lieutenant. In 1805, he joined the corps at Kirkaldy, where it was then on permanent duty. In the outskirts of that town, he recognised an old acquaintance, a member of the Secession Church, whose family was sunk in poverty and visited with fever. Anxious to contribute to their relief, Mr. Chalmers requested Mr. Fleming, the minister of Kirkaldy, to give him the use of his pulpit, that he might preach a sermon, and make a collection on behalf of the sufferers. Knowing the applicant only as the author of the recently published pamphlet, and as one addicted more to lectures on chemistry than to purely professional effort, Mr. Fleming refused. The will, however, was too strong not to find for itself a way. Although Mr. Chalmers could not get a pulpit to preach, he could find a room to lecture in. A suitable apartment was forthwith engaged; a course of lectures on chemistry announced. Though the admission ticket was somewhat high in price, goodly audiences crowded nightly around the lecturer; and at the close, he had the exquisite satisfaction of handing over to a respectable but unfortunate family, what not only relieved them from present distress, but supported them for some time afterwards in comfort.

The old manse at Kilmany generally had in it as many of Mr. Chalmers' brothers and sisters as it could conveniently accommodate. He was now the only one of the family who could be helpful to his parents; and the obligations which lay upon him as such, it was his delight to discharge. He had for a time undertaken the entire charge of his brother Patrick, and when it

* Posthumous Works, vol. vi. p. 49.

was determined that he should not be sent to the University, he transferred his care to his brother Charles—not only personally superintending his education during the summer at Kilmany, but carrying him to St. Andrews during the college session; for though he had ceased lecturing, he still divided the year between Kilmany and St. Andrews—the dilapidated state of the manse furnishing sufficient reasons for a winter residence elsewhere. It was at the close of such a residence that he wrote thus to Anstruther:—

"St. Andrews, *May* 6, 1806.

"Dear Father,—I am happy to inform you that Charles has acquitted himself to the great satisfaction of his teachers. The plan of his studies through the summer, I have delivered to himself in writing. You must not speak of his expenses. I have never been accustomed to despise economy, but at the same time think that the whole value of money lies in its use. I can assure you that single and unencumbered as I am, I have a sufficient surplus for every expense I have undertaken. I have never indeed lived under my income, but I find that I am clearing away my embarrassments gradually; and as to accumulation, it is a thing I have never thought of, and for which, according to my present intentions in life, I foresee no necessity.—I am, yours affectionately, Thomas Chalmers."

James had recently been unfortunate in business; and having had a little experience of the risks and treacheries of mercantile life during a year (1802) fatal to many merchants in Liverpool, he left that town to settle permanently in London. In his first letter to Thomas from the metropolis, he had mentioned his having forsaken the Presbyterian for the Episcopal communion. He afterwards asked his brother to show this letter to his father. "You desired me," was Thomas' reply, "to show my father your

first letter. I would not have done so for the world. Your apostasy from the Kirk would have horrified him, and he would have sighed over the degeneracy of that son who could renounce old mother Presbytery in the face of one of its ministers. But whatever I say, may the vengeance of heaven pursue me, if I feel contempt for that man who has passed through the world unstained by its corruptions—who has walked the manly career of independence and honour—who has escaped the infection of a degenerate age, and can boast a mind that has preserved its integrity amidst all the seductions of policy and interest. Such is the character of our good father. May the great Spirit bear up the weight of his old age, and blunt the arrow that gives it rest.—Yours affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

This picture was not drawn by the hand of an exaggerating affection. Its fault lies not in excess, but in defect; for had the sketch been made by the same hand a few years later, other features should have appeared in it besides that of a pure and high-minded, unstained and incorruptible integrity. In that good father, depth of piety and tenderness of affection equalled the strength of his moral principle. In this year of 1806, at which we have now arrived, that piety was tested and that affection was severely tried. From his childhood, George had been a favourite in the family; he was so simple-hearted, so confiding, so generous, and so manly; and when he joined his vessel, he became as great a favourite with his master and messmates as he had been at home. When his apprenticeship had expired, he became mate; and while yet only twenty-three years of age, was promoted to the command of the merchant ship Barton, which sailed from Liverpool, carrying, in the time of war, letters of marque, and cruising generally for six weeks in the Channel and along the French coast, in the hope of capturing some of our enemies' vessels, before she made

her destined voyage to the West Indies. In the course of these voyages, many hairbreadth escapes were made, and many a brave action was fought, unchronicled in our naval annals. "We sailed from Barbadoes," says George, describing one of them, "on the 17th May, a single ship, with twenty guns and fifty men; and on the 23d, fell in with a French privateer of ten guns, which ran on board our quarter and attempted to board us. Two days afterwards, we fell in with the Fairey schooner, a French privateer, of twenty guns and 150 men. She engaged us to leeward, within pistol-shot, for the space of an hour. We received her fire with calmness, and never returned a single shot, firing only our small arms till she came alongside us and grappled us on our fore and main chains. Then we gave her our broadside. Our guns were all loaded with round and grape shot. They made an attempt to board us, but we picked them down faster than they cut our nettings; at last they were obliged to shear off with a great loss. I perceived numbers of dead men on their deck, and their scuppers ran with streams of blood."

Wearied with the fight, George lay down upon the deck and fell asleep—a sleep as fatal as any shot of the enemy could have been, lodging in him, as it did, the seeds of that deadly malady which carried him to the grave.* During the spring months of 1806, the symptoms of consumption having showed themselves with alarming distinctness, he resolved to try the effect of his native air. For a short time that air seemed to revive and reinvigorate, but the improvement was only tem-

* He indeed made several voyages after this, in one of which he brought home from St. Lucie an invalid officer, (Colonel Mackay, the husband of the accomplished authoress of "The Family at Heatherdale,") who came on board so weak that he could not mount the companion-ladder unaided. For six or eight weeks, George watched over him with the greatest tenderness, carrying him up daily in his arms from his cabin to the deck. He afterwards recovered, and hearing of George's illness, came from England to Anstruther, to return if possible the kind offices of the voyage.

porary. The months of August and September were spent at Kilmany, when his mother, his sisters Lucy, Jean, and Helen, and his brothers Thomas and Charles, were all around him. Leaving Thomas and Lucy ill behind him at Kilmany, George returned to Anstruther, where Thomas joined him at the close of the following month—not to be separated till the earthly bond was broken by death.

"ANSTRUTHER, *Oct.* 29, 1806.

"DEAR JAMES,—I arrived here yesterday from Kilmany quite recovered from my sore-throat. It confined me about four weeks, and has had the good effect of reducing me to something like a reasonable size. The fact is, that the ease and indolence of a country retirement have induced a tendency to corpulence, which I am anxious to avoid, as the greatest possible bar to action and useful exertion in every department. You perhaps know that I have been in the practice for some time back of dividing the year between Kilmany and St. Andrews, allotting the summer to the former, and the winter to the latter. The wretched state of the manse renders this in some measure necessary, and indeed I can never regard myself as completely settled until I get my heritors prevailed on to grant a new establishment of house, offices, &c. I remember having some directions from you on the subject of gardening, which I neglected altogether, having no taste at the time for that occupation. I have lately, however, devoted myself to the study of botany, and am so much fascinated with the pursuit that I mean to lay out one-third of my garden in the cultivation of flowers. I will divide my botanical plot into narrow strips, with intervening walks, and mean to arrange the plants in scientific order. The book I use is Withering's British Flora; and to give you an idea of the rich botanical tract in which I am situated, two-thirds of his genera are to be found within nine miles of St. Andrews.

"Poor George is no better. His weakness, his languor, and perspirations have been much increased since he left Kilmany. To you it would be an injustice if I held out delusive hopes, and I state it as my conviction that his lungs are seriously and irrecoverably affected. As to himself, he has all the manly indifference of his profession, is as cheerful as his bodily sufferings will allow, and perfectly resigned under the confident idea that his death is inevitable.—I am, yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The rapid progress of the malady was thus communicated by his father to James:—"*November* 25.—I sincerely wish I could make my report of my poor George more favourable. He is weaker than when I last wrote you. The doctors, I imagine, have no great hopes of a recovery; but the Physician above all may otherwise appoint concerning him. I would desire to say with your brother, His holy will be done. He seems to be resigned to live or die as God shall see meet. I pray that living or dying he may be the Lord's.

"He was much pleased with your anxious solicitude about him; and said that a letter from you, so far from putting him into any disorder, would give him great satisfaction. He has nothing of peevishness about him—a firm, steady resignation he possesses to a great degree."—"*December* 15.—Your letter gave George great satisfaction. I have no great heart to write. He is still alive, but unable to help himself in any manner of way; but blessed be God that gives him a sweet submission to His holy will, and a satisfying hope of His mercy in Christ."

Every evening, at George's own request, one of Newton's sermons was read at his bedside by some member of the family in rotation. It was one of the very books which, a short time previously, Thomas had named and denounced from the

pulpit. Bending over the pulpit, and putting on the books named the strong emphasis of dislike, he had said—"Many books are favourites with you, which I am sorry to say are no favourites of mine. When you are reading Newton's Sermons, and Baxter's Saints' Rest, and Doddridge's Rise and Progress, where do Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John go to?" As he now read one of these books to his dying brother, and witnessed the support and consolation which its truths conveyed, strange misgivings must have visited him. He was too close, too acute, too affectionate an observer not to notice that it was something more than the mere "manly indifference of his profession," something more than a mere blind submission to an inevitable fate which imparted such calmness and serene elevation to George's dying hours. He was in his room when those pale and trembling lips were heard to say, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes." Perhaps as the words were uttered, the thought arose that in his own case, as compared with that of his brother, the words might be verified. In company with a weeping household, he bent over the parting scene, and heard the closing testimony given, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." George died on the 16th December 1806. It was the first death of a near relation which Thomas had witnessed; and the deep impression which it made, was the first step towards his own true and thorough conversion unto God.

CHAPTER V.

FIRST VISIT TO LONDON.

A few months after George's death, Mr. Chalmers, having occasion to go to Liverpool, received and accepted an invitation to proceed onward, and spend a week or two with his brother James in London. The following extracts from his journal reveal the ardour with which he availed himself of the opportunities by the way which this journey afforded, and the diligence with which, during his first visit to the great metropolis, the work of sight-seeing was prosecuted.

"*Edinburgh, April 17th.*—Had nearly missed the coach. It broke down at the end of the town, and the accident detained us at least an hour. * * * Arrived in Carlisle at two in the morning.

"*April 18th.*—Found in the coach from Carlisle this morning, a lady and gentleman from Carlisle. The former disposed to be frank and communicative, but apparently under some control from the gentleman, who had probably prepared her to expect a very vulgar company. He had the tone and the confidence of polished life, but I never in my life witnessed such a want of cordiality, such a cold and repulsive deportment, such a stingy and supercilious air, and so much of that confounded spirit too prevalent among the bucks and fine gentlemen of the age. They give no room to the movements of any kindly or natural impulse, but hedge themselves round by sneers, and attempt to awe you into diffidence by a display of

their knowledge in the polite world. Give intrepidity to weather them out. I sustained my confidence. I upheld the timidity of the company, and had the satisfaction of reducing him at last to civility and complaisance.

"*April* 19*th.*—Left Lancaster at seven in the morning, and arrived in Liverpool at six in the evening. * * *

"*April* 20*th.*—Went with a party from Mr. Maccorquodale's to the Botanic Garden. * * * I christened his daughter at three o'clock, and we sat down to dinner at four. Mr. Yates, and a son of Dr. Currie's, were of the party. The former assailed me with an application to preach for him, which I have had the simplicity to consent to, a circumstance which I dislike exceedingly from the extreme awkwardness of my provincial dialect. Mr. Currie is a merchant of this place, combines liberalism and fashion, is an admirer of the Edinburgh school, and carries in his manner a great deal of the chastened amenity of a cultivated temper. They are both warm admirers of Mr. Stewart, a circumstance in which I took the liberty of differing from them. I lament the provincialisms of my tone and conversation, but must study to get over it by a proper union of confidence and humility.

Tuesday, April 21*st.*—Accompanied a party to a pottery about a mile and a half up the river. Was delighted with the elegance and simplicity of the process, [*which is most minutely and graphically described.*] * * * Went to the School for the Blind, a truly admirable institution. * * * They have an hour for music—the effect was in the highest degree interesting, and the allusion to their own situation most pathetic. Dined in Mr. Maccorquodale's. The only stranger was a Mr. Duncan Maccorquodale, a military gentleman, of an appearance rather unfashionable, but accompanied with a most interesting modesty. To such as these I feel attached by an impulse the most kindly and benevolent, and cannot but spurn at the heart-

less formality of those who would triumph in the timidity of the inexperienced. Oh, how I like the untrained originality of nature! Oh, how I dislike the trammels of a cold lifeless and insipid formality!

"*Friday, April 24th.*—Spent the forenoon with Dr. Traill, a chemical lecturer and practitioner, with a great deal of ardour and philosophic simplicity. He showed me his chemical apparatus. The most interesting was—1. An apparatus for decomposing water, [*minutely described and diagramed;*] 2. A glass apparatus for decomposing water by galvanism, [*the form of two vessels drawn, and the manner of using them detailed.*]

"*Saturday, April 25th.*—Walked to the Botanic Garden, and spent two hours in it. Found it of this form and dimension. [*Here follow plan and measurements, with notices of its rarest plants.**]

"*Sunday, April 26th.*—Preached in the forenoon for Mr. Kirkpatrick on the comforts of religion, and in the afternoon on drunkenness, the former with far more effect and impression than the latter. In the afternoon we met at three o'clock, after dinner, which has the effect of making both a drowsy preacher and a drowsy audience. Mrs. H. evidently reluctant in her testimony of approbation—disposed to overrate the deficiencies of manner and pronunciation, and asleep in the afternoon.

"*Monday, April 27th.*—Drove out in the curricle with Mr. M'C., from six to nine in the morning. After a charming round of sixteen miles, returned with him to breakfast. * * *

* Besides the Journal from which the extracts given above have been taken, a separate Botanical Journal was kept during this journey. This Journal has been submitted to the inspection of Professor Balfour, who, from the graphic description given of its general appearance, even where the class and order are not given, had little difficulty in detecting what plant or flower was meant. For about a year, indeed, Botany appears to have been the science which was in the ascendant. His knowledge of it was very rapidly acquired. His attention having been attracted to it at a meeting of Presbytery, he set himself to learn it, and at the very next meeting appeared to be quite familiar with its details.

Went to the Athenæum. * * * Accompanied Mr. M'C. to dine in the river with Captain Tucker on board the Union Guineaman. We reached the vessel—she was going out of dock, where we proceeded to an anchorage about a mile and a half off from Liverpool. We had the music of benevolence to drown all the relentings of nature, and ladies waved their handkerchiefs from the shore to sanctify what was infamous, and deck the splendid villany of the trade.

"*Tuesday, April 28th.*—Left Liverpool at seven in the morning. * * * Reached Birmingham by about ten at night.

"*Wednesday, April 29th.*—[*Various manufactures, toy, button, gun, spade, &c., visited, and all the processes particularly noted down.*]

"*Thursday, April 30th.*—Left Birmingham for Woodstock at seven in the morning, where I arrived at four in the afternoon. There was only another passenger in the coach, and he was inside, a sensible, discreet, cultivated man, whom I afterwards learned to be a Fellow of Oxford, and who had evidently a little of the rust and embarrassment of a learned profession. I parted with him at Woodstock. I was immediately conducted by a person from the inn to the gate of Blenheim. For a particular account see *Guide*, which seems to be written with great taste and power of description. The pleasure I felt was heightened by a variety of circumstances which supplied associations of grandeur. In addition to the stateliness of actual display, I had the recollection of its origin, the immortality of its first owner, the proud monument of national glory, the prospect not of a house, or scene, or a neighbourhood, but the memorial of those events which had figured on the high theatre of war and of politics, and given a turn to the history of the world. The statue of Louis XIV. placed upon the south front, and taken from the walls of Tournay, gives an air of magnificence far beyond the mere power of form or of magnitude. It

is great not as a visible object, but great as a trophy, great as it serves to illustrate the glory of England, and the prowess of the first of warriors. I spent two hours in the garden. Never spot more lovely—never scenes so fair and captivating. I lost myself in an elysium of delight, and wept with perfect rapture. My favourite view was down the river, from the ground above the fountain. The setting sun gleamed on the gilded orbs of Blenheim; through the dark verdure of trees were seen peeps of water and spots of grassy sunshine; the murmurs of the waterfall beneath soothed every anxiety within me, the bell of the village clock sent its music across the lake on my left. I sat motionless, and my mind slumbered in a reverie of enchantment.

"*Friday, May* 1*st.*—Started from Woodstock at seven, and walked to Oxford. I was rather surprised at the small number of students I met; but the appearance of one at times, with the garb of his order, had an interesting effect among these ancient solitudes. The Fellows, I was informed by one of my guides, are sometimes very noisy, and keep it up till two in the morning. It is impossible to carry away anything but a confused recollection of the different objects. The mind is overpowered with the dazzling variety that presents itself, and a guide for after-perusal is a most necessary accompaniment to all these various and extensive exhibitions. I returned to dine in my little mansion after a fatiguing walk of five hours, and in the evening took a rambling and irregular walk through the different streets of Oxford. I was delighted with the academic air and costume of the place; and amid the grossness of a mercantile age, it is the delight of my spirit to recur to the quiet scenes of philosophy, and contemplate what our ancestors have done for learning, and the respect that they once paid to it. Threw myself into bed at ten in the evening.

Saturday, May 2*d.*—Left Oxford at seven in the morning, * * * and landed in Ludgate Hill about seven in the evening.

After waiting about a minute in the coffee-room, met my brother, who conducted me to his house in Walworth.

"*Sunday, May 3d.*—Walked on London Bridge, round the Tower, along Cornhill and Cheapside to St. Paul's, where I heard service. After dinner we sallied out to Westminster Bridge, St. James's Park, Hyde Park, Kensington Gardens, and returned by Oxford Street and Blackfriars Bridge. Astonished at the display; the dress, the carriages, and company, give a high idea of the wealth and extravagance of London.

"*Monday, May 4th.*—The Tower. * * * St. Paul's—the Guildhall and Exchange.

"*Tuesday, May 5th.*—The Bank—the Treasury—the House of Commons; looked with veneration at Fox's seat. Went to Westminster Hall—saw Lord Eldon presiding in the Court of Chancery, and Lord Ellenborough in the Court of King's Bench. * * * Westminster Abbey. The *tout ensemble* and general view to me more interesting than the individual curiosities, which pass before the eye of the spectator in too rapid succession to be either appreciated or remembered.

"*Wednesday, May 6th.*—Crossed London Bridge to the Monument. Had a most gratifying view of London. Saw the shipping through the winding of the Thames, till the prospect sunk away into mist and obscurity. In the Strand saw the model of a cotton mill, [*all the parts and movements of the machinery minutely specified.*] * * * Went to the exhibition of pictures at the Royal Academy. An astonishing display of fashionables; had the satisfaction to observe that Mr. Wilkie's picture* attracted particular admiration.

"*Thursday, May 7th.*—The Horse Guards, where I heard a most delightful band of music, and saw the 3d regiment of Foot Guards go through their exercise. Went to St. James's Palace, and was conducted through the State-rooms by Mrs.

* "The Blind Fiddler."—See *Life of Sir D. Wilkie*, pp. 144-146.

Macqueen, who, upon recognising me to be Scotch, invited me to return to the drawing-room on Thursday next. * * * Exhibition of models of Roman antiquities in cork, a most wonderful performance. Small bits of cork are put together so as to represent the different stories of the building, and coloured in such a way as to imitate the mould of antiquity. Small tufts of moss are scattered over the walls so as to give more truth and nature to the representation. The imitations are exact, and calculated to give a most interesting idea of these magnificent remains.

"*Friday, May 8th.*—Merlin's Museum—a collection of mechanical curiosities, [*numbered, and particularly described.*] * * * Got a station near the hustings at Westminster, and heard, with great interest, the speeches of the different candidates.

"*Saturday, May 9th.*—Went as far as Upper Shadwell with a view to make out the Docks and Greenwich Hospital; but was prevented from proceeding by the rain. Returned to Westminster, where I heard the candidates exhibit in their usual style.

"*Sunday, May 10th.*—The badness of the day prevented us from prosecuting any of our schemes. Walked out before dinner to Dulwich village, where we had the full view of a country enriched and adorned by the neighbourhood of the metropolis. After dinner, a round by Oxford Street. We returned by Blackfriars, where *en passant* we had an opportunity of hearing the delightful music in Rowland Hill's, and the roaring enthusiasm of another preacher, whose sect was founded by a female mystic, Joanna Southcote.

"*Monday, May 11th.*—The hustings at Westminster,* and a Zoological Museum.

* He used often to tell of a scene which he witnessed at these hustings. An ugly fellow, raised on the shoulders of the mob, said to Sheridan—"If you do not alter your ways, I will withdraw my countenance from you." Sheridan replied, "I am very glad to hear it, for an uglier countenance I never saw." The countenance sunk quickly out of sight.

"*Tuesday, May 12th.*—Breakfasted with the Miss Hunters, and took three of them to the Royal Academy, and had great satisfaction in observing the increasing celebrity of Mr. Wilkie's picture. In going along to Somerset House, I met John Campbell, [*now Lord Campbell.*] On my return, I met Mrs. and Miss ——. By the way, I have no patience for Mrs. ——; not a particle of cordiality about her; cold, formal, and repulsive; a perfect stranger to the essence of politeness, with a most provoking pretension to its exterior; a being who carries in her very eye a hampering and restraining criticism; who sets herself forward as a pattern of correct manners—while she spreads pain, restraint, and misery around her; whose example I abominate, and whose society I must shun, as it would blast all the joy and independence of London. * * * Met at tea a Mr. M. He seems a smattering pretender to science; has a great respect for it; was very courteous and attentive to me. I accompanied both gentlemen to a lecture in Guy's Hospital. It was given that night by a Mr. Allen, a Quaker. The subject was, the Earth considered as a planet with its attendant Moon. It was quite narratory and illustrative, as I believe almost all scientific lectures are in England. He had about 100 hearers; and from the rapid and imperfect explanation he gave of his subject, I do not believe that one of them went away instructed. They still persevere, however, and think that their progress in philosophy is to be measured by the progress of the course. Oh, London! artful as a serpent in the dark and tortuous paths of iniquity, but simple and credulous as a child in the higher fields of intellect.

"*Wednesday, May 13th.*—Breakfasted with John Campbell. Much franker and more manly than in the first years of my acquaintance with him. Visited Carlton House; thence proceeded to St. James's, and stationed myself on the outside of the railing at Buckingham House. One of the royal carriages en-

tered the Court, and went off first with Princess Elizabeth; then, with Princess Mary and the Duke of Sussex; then, from the front of the house, with the Queen and Princess Augusta. It took them all successively to St. James's, where they went on a visit to two of the royal dukes at their apartments. I was there in time to have a full view of the royal train. I met them in one of the narrow passages, where I stood with my hat off. A condescending notice from her Majesty was the return I got for it. I am charmed with the cordial and affectionate loyalty of the people. An old gentleman from the country laughed with pleasure; an elderly gentleman was delighted with the smiling countenances of her Majesty and daughters, and remarked that her Majesty was looking wonderfully well. I saw a glow of reverence and satisfaction on every countenance, and my heart warmed within me.

"*Thursday, May* 14*th*.—Walked over in a pour of rain to St. James's. Ran up the great stair of the Palace, and found Mrs. Macqueen at the head ready to receive me. She ushered me into the outer passage room. Stopping some time here, I was conducted by the same lady, along with others, to a room through which the royals pass in their way to the drawing-room. I had here the opportunity of seeing the Queen, with her splendid train supported by a page, the five princesses, and an immense procession of attendants. The most distinguished of these is the Earl of Morton. I then went back to my old place, where I witnessed an astonishing flow going to and returning from the drawing-room. I had the advantage of knowing very few of them. The Duke of Cambridge, Princess Sophia of Gloucester, Duke of Cumberland, and the Princess of Wales, were all pointed out to me. Upon their approach, the halberds are dropt upon the ground, and the attendants put on their hats. A court dress appears to me the most fantastic and unnatural, the barbarous remnant of an age when

simplicity was unknown, and the most gorgeous affectation of ornament prevailed over every department of fashion. What more ludicrous than the hoops! The best place for a stranger getting acquainted with the company is at the foot of the staircase, where the servants and carriages of the different people are called for.

"*Friday, May* 15*th.*—The India House—Deptford—the Docks. We proceeded to Drury Lane Theatre, where we heard the comic opera of the Duenna, High Life below Stairs, and the pantomimic ballet, Don Juan. I am not fond of operas, because I have no taste for that music the merit of which appears to me to lie entirely in the execution. The squalling exertion of the performers is painful to me, and not a word of the song can be collected. Indeed, such is the extent of Drury Lane Theatre, that in many parts of the house, the most audible and distinct enunciation must be lost upon the hearer. The house was quite full, more decorous than the Circus, and exceeds any thing I have seen in the splendour of its boxes and rich expensive scenery. None of the performers appeared to me first-rate. The pantomime I did not enter into. We returned to Walworth in the morning.

"*Saturday, May* 16*th.*—I arrived at Windsor at seven; ran up to the Castle; got admittance by the porter (1s.); and was shown by the chambermaid (1s. 6d.) through the public rooms. The paintings I did not see to advantage from the lateness of the hour; but was particularly struck with the magnificence of St. George's Hall, and the finished elegance of the king's audience chamber. In one of the rooms, I was pointed out the Duke of Marlborough's annual quit-rent for Blenheim, a small flag highly decorated. I went down to the terrace; and as I walked along the north of the Castle, I swore in the gladness of my heart that there was never scene so sweet or fair. You have an exquisite view, below the eminence, of the Castle, the windings

of the Thames, Eton College and Chapel. The vivid green seen in patches through the fringe of luxuriant branches; the extensive lawns below, on which the peaceful cattle were grazing; the hum of the village; the grand association of Majesty; his piety and amiable character; his selection of this quiet retirement as a refuge from the cares and the splendour of royalty, threw me into a train of emotions, soothing, tranquil, and elevating. I returned to the Hero Inn, where I got a snug room, a substantial supper, and a comfortable bed.

"*Sunday, May 17th.*—Went to the king's private chapel; where, at half-past eight, I was gratified with the entrance of their Majesties and the Princess Elizabeth. His manner is devotional and unaffected. I heard them all repeat the service most distinctly; and was much pleased with their frank, easy, and benevolent appearance. The view of Twickenham was most charming. Pope's house was among the delightful residences that we gazed on with rapture from the opposite side. The river was enshrined with pleasure-boats; and the gay London parties, walking and drinking tea on both sides, gave cheerfulness and animation to the prospect. The idea, however, of vicinity to the metropolis pollutes all our rural impressions of this fascinating scene—takes off from all that pure interest which the idea of simplicity confers, and mingles with original nature the vices, profligacy, and corruptions of civilized life. We ascended Richmond Hill; eyed with rapture the country before us; saw in the rich scene that presented itself the wealth of the first city in the world, spreading its embellishment over the neighbourhood. Took a boat to Kew, when we passed Islesworth, and had a charming sail down the river. From Kew, we coached it to town, and reached Walworth by eleven in the evening.

"*Monday, May 18th.*—The London Institution—Waxworks —Cosmorama—thence to the hustings, where I heard a most eloquent eulogium on Fox from the mouth of Sheridan—thence

to the theatre, Covent Garden. The play was Coriolanus. The chief actors were Mrs. Siddons and Mr. Kemble. She had few opportunities of coming forward, but showed herself a great and impressive performer, and noble in the expression of heightened heroical sentiment. I was electrified at the drawing out of the dagger, 'to die while Rome was free.' Kemble disgusted me at first; heavy and formal in the movement of his arms, and not able to drop the stateliness of his manner on trivial and unimportant occasions. He is too formal, artificial, and affected; but is more than tolerable—is great and admirable on those grand occasions when nature overpowers art, and the feelings are carried along by the strong, the vehement, and the resistless.

"*Tuesday, May 19th.*—Started at six o'clock for Woolwich—thence to Greenwich. At this time of the year Greenwich fair is held, and resorted to by an immense concourse of people. The park overflowed; and I never witnessed a better display of the English character—their propensity to amusement—their dissipation—their love of gambling, shows, and exhibitions. We are more a business people, devoted to the pursuits of selfishness, and controlling any ungenial propensity in obedience to the call of prudence and interest. I was delighted with the views from the park. Saw the painted hall, chapel wards, and dining-room of Greenwich Hospital; and after several rounds through the scene of gaiety, I was brought home at five in the afternoon. I am sure I met a hundred carriages on their road to the fair, and was informed by my driver that he had carried them down till half-past eight. A horse dead upon the road with over-driving was to me a most impressive display of the dashing, careless, and impetuous spirit of the people, when urged on by some popular and fashionable object.

"*Wednesday, May 20th.*—Breakfasted with Peter Cleghorn, and find him a manly, sensible fellow. Accompanied him to Mr. Wilkie, No. 10, Sol's Court, but missed our object. Attended a

lecture and exhibition of gas lights at Pall Mall in the evening. The lecturer, Mr. W., is a mere empiric; not a particle of science, and even dull and uninteresting in his popular explanations. The Londoners listened with delight; and I pronounce the metropolis to be the best mart of impudence and ignorant folly. It is not worth the attending, though it might be rendered so with a better lecturer. My own conviction is, that with certain precautions gas will succeed. Returned at eleven in the evening.

"*Thursday, May 21st.*—Called on Wilkie; took Russell Square in my road, and think it the finest in London. Mr. Wilkie is a man of genius and excellent sense, with all the simplicity which accompanies talent, and firmness to resist the corruptions of flattery. After leaving him, I took a round among the streets and squares to the north of Oxford Street.

"*Friday, May 22d.*—Went in the forenoon to a splendid exhibition of tulips in Walworth. The tulips and anemones together covered about four acres of ground. There was a green room filled in its whole length by the most beautiful tulips brought to the highest perfection.

"*Saturday, May 23d.*—* * * Repaired to the Albany, and dined with Mr. Sheridan and 150 of his admirers. The dinner was wretched—too little of it—and the worst conducted I ever saw. Great tumult and confusion among the company. I was disappointed in all the speeches, and much shocked with the extreme incorrectness of feeling discovered by several of the company. When the venerable memory of Fox was announced by Mr. Sheridan the toastmaster, it was received with the most ridiculous shouts and huzzas, which were at last drowned by the hisses of the majority. A most offensive degree of vulgarity prevailed among my immediate neighbours. It seemed to be their great entertainment to throw the waiters into trouble and confusion. It was strongly suspected that there were people stationed at one part of the room for the purpose of disturbing

the harmony of the electors. I left them at nine, and bent my steps homewards.

"*Monday, May 25th.*—The British Museum; where I was conducted with great rapidity through a collection of curiosities too various and multiplied to appreciate in the course of a month.

"*Tuesday, May 26th.*—Left London.

"*Wednesday, May 27th.*—I was delighted with Cambridge; a small town, deriving its entire support from the University. It smells of learning all over, and I breathe a fragrancy most congenial to me. The very women have an air of academic mildness and simplicity. I prefer it to Oxford, where you are embarrassed with the multiplicity of objects, and astonished at the glare of decoration and spectacle. In Cambridge, every thing wears a simplicity and chasteness allied to the character of philosophy; and the venerable name of Newton gives it an interest that can never die. Left Cambridge at half-past seven in the morning. Found Huntingdon all astir about an election dinner. Threw myself into the coach from London to Stamford, which passes Huntingdon at four in the afternoon. I was informed at Stilton, that the cheese of that name is not manufactured there, but chiefly in Leicester and Rutlandshire; that it was first purchased by an innkeeper at Stilton, who was the means of giving it celebrity, and from this circumstance it first got and still retains the name of Stilton cheese. Before reaching Stilton, enclosures are less frequent; but after leaving that town, the character of beautiful enclosed pasturage is again resumed. Passed a very extensive range of wooden barracks, appropriated for the reception of French prisoners. I am glad to hear that they have the best accommodation, and a spacious court, giving the advantage of air and exercise. In passing through the wild succession of corn-fields and picturesque cottages, with the evening sun shedding its quiet light over the landscape, I was struck with the figure of a woman reading at

a window—a sober reflection pictured on her countenance. Supped and stopped all night at Stamford.

"*Thursday, May 28th.*—Started from Stamford at a quarter from four, in the coach from London to Newcastle. Sir Isaac Newton's house I saw most distinctly. I felt a glow and an enthusiasm, for my veneration for the character and talents of Sir Isaac is unbounded. Dined at Doncaster, the approach to which is beautiful; got to Aberford about ten.

"*Friday, May 29th.*—Started at half-past five, and scrambled through fields for six miles to Tadcaster. I could here perceive the richness of English soil and English cultivation. I was lost among hedges, and had no view of the country which surrounded me. On my arrival at Tadcaster, I found the 29th May celebrated by the ringing of bells, and the whole town in a stir about the county election. Found it impossible to secure a seat in any of the coaches, so I walked on to Struthouses, where I breakfasted. Half a mile farther on, I fell in with the Leeds coach for York, so I got on the top of it, and reached York about eleven in the forenoon. I spent an hour in contemplating the glories of York Minster. The objects which struck me most were the circular carved work at the top of the south entry—the beautiful colonnade at the back of the altar—the highly ornamental screen which supports the organ and separates the choir from the nave of the cathedral—the windows on the north, with five longitudinal divisions, richly painted in the pattern style—and above all, the chapter-house, an octagonal room, that displays all the power and elegance of finished workmanship. From the top of the great tower, I surveyed a raised expanse of level scenes thrown into hedge enclosures, bounded at a great distance on the east by a gentle swell, and on the north by two distinct tiers of elevated country. On the west, and particularly the north, the scene loses itself in interminable distance. The two west towers are beset with beautiful

pinnacles. Not a horse nor a conveyance was to be had in York, so I walked on to Easingwold.

"*Saturday, May 30th.*—Took an outside place to Durham on the High-Flyer, from London on to Newcastle, passing through Easingwold at nine. The approach to Durham is by no means impressive. The houses, with their red roofs, took away from that venerable air of antiquity which my fancy had led me to associate with the name and situation of Durham. I arrived between six and seven in the evening; ran up to the Cathedral; tried in vain to get admittance, and was obliged to content myself with a survey of its exterior. [*Here follows minute description with ink sketches.*]

"*Sunday, May 31st.*—Started at seven, and walked to Bishop-Wearmouth. The country possesses no great or decisive features. The bridge over the Wear is an astonishing piece of workmanship. I got under it in a boat, and made my observations. [*A minute description of the bridge is given.*] Falling in with a man who drove a post-office gig, rode to South Shields. Crossed over to North Shields for twopence in a skuller. From North Shields I proceeded to Tynemouth, with which I was delighted; the east fragment of the Abbey is particularly beautiful. Sailed up the river to Newcastle.

"*Monday, June 1st.*—I left Newcastle about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and stopped at the six-mile-house in the expectation of getting a place in the mail. It was quite full, however, so I walked on to Morpeth, where I spent the evening.

"*Tuesday, June 2d.*—Rose at seven in the morning. I took an outside seat to Alnwick. From the inn I proceeded to the Castle, and was much delighted with the different rooms of this noble edifice. * * * The chapel has three beautiful painted windows; the window at the extremity the most elegant I had seen. The walls set round with gilded triangles and slender pilasters—perhaps too bright and airy for a place of devotion.

I was more pleased with the interior of the house than with Blenheim. It is not so rich or various; but there is a uniformity of character, and a simplicity that does not fatigue or overpower you. Blenheim is before it in exterior appearance, and the beautiful scenes of its garden and park. I walked from Alnwick to Warrenford. The whim struck me that I should make an excursion to Holy Island; so after passing through Belford, I turned to the right, and after walking for three or four miles along the beach, was fortunate enough to fall in with an oyster boat, which ferried me over the Channel. I was here disgusted with the rapacious spirit of the young rascals of boatmen, who, though I overpaid them for their trouble, tried to work out of me every little addition they could think of."

* * * * * *

After a survey of the island, he reached Berwick on the following day; and walking along the banks of the Tweed and the Teviot, found himself, about a week afterwards, in the hospitable manse of Roberton. "I proposed," says Mr. Shaw, "when he left, to accompany him to Dr. Hardie's, (about six miles distant,) whence he intended to get to Pennycook next day. We set out accordingly on a Monday after breakfast. The next morning, I expressed a wish that we should go as far as Galashiels, and call on Dr. Douglas;* to which he consented, on condition that it must be only a short call. There, however, we were induced to spend the day. Next morning we took our departure on the way to Peebles; but in passing the hospitable

* Robert Douglas, D.D., minister of Galashiels, was the author of "A General View of the Agriculture in the County of Roxburgh." Edinburgh, 1798. 8vo. And of "A General View of the Agriculture in the County of Selkirk." Edinburgh, 1798. 8vo. He was also the writer of an anonymous life of Logan, prefixed to the edition of his poems published at Edinburgh in 1812. He sold to Sir Walter Scott a farm called *Clarty Hole*, afterwards dignified by the name of Abbotsford. Mr. Lockhart tells us, that he was the "shrewd and unbigoted" minister of the gospel in Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk. Some notices of his character are to be found in the Life of Dr. Balmer, by Dr. Henderson of Galashiels.

residence of a family with whom I was intimately connected, I prevailed on him to call; and being much delighted with our kind reception, we remained till next morning, when we took our leave after breakfast. On our way up the Tweed, I suggested the propriety of our calling on my friend, Nicol of Traquair,* whose manse was situated only about half a mile off the road. 'Well, sir,' was the reply, 'but it must be only for a minute or two, as I must get to Pennycook this night.' There, however, we spent the day most comfortably; and in the evening, were so delighted with the music of the piano, that we could not refrain dancing a few merry reels. At last, Chalmers took hold of my arm, and exclaimed, 'It 's out of the question my getting home this week. You have a good horse, so you must just proceed to-morrow morning to Kilmany, and I will go back to Roberton.' To this proposal I readily agreed. Nicol was amazed, and seemed to think we were both getting deranged. On awakening next morning, and perceiving that it rained, I began to groan a little, when my friend pulled me out of bed, and ordered me to set off with all convenient speed. Off I accordingly rode, and reached Kilmany about eight o'clock at night. Chalmers went from Nicol's to Hardie's on the Friday —we parted at Traquair—and on Saturday, to Roberton parish, where he wrote a poetical farewell to Teviotdale, and preached a brilliant sermon on 'Look not on the wine when it is red.' (Prov. xxiii. 31.) Afterwards, on his way home, he called at Abbot's hall, and gave me a minute and amusing account of all his proceedings, concluding with high glee and emphasis, 'This famous exploit will immortalize us, sir.' I regret that I cannot find his Farewell to Teviotdale, which I must have somehow mislaid."

* James Nicol, minister of Traquair, published, in the earlier part of his life, "Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect." Edinburgh, 1805. 2 vols., 16mo. A work of his was published four years after his death, entitled, "An Essay on the Nature and Design of Scripture Sacrifices, in which the Theory of Archbishop Magee is Controverted." London, 1823. 8vo.

CHAPTER VI.

PUBLICATION OF AN INQUIRY INTO THE EXTENT AND STABILITY OF NATIONAL RESOURCES—DEATH OF HIS SISTER BARBARA.

MR. CHALMERS returned to Kilmany in July, and the transition was immediate from the bustle of the metropolis and the varieties of the wayside, to the solitary labours of the desk

"KILMANY, *September* 9, 1807.

"DEAR JAMES,—I should have written you sooner, but the eternal sameness of the country suggests no subject that can at all interest you. I by no means dislike the country, however; and much indeed would I regret it, if my jaunt to London had inspired disgust with my situation. The truth is, I have come down to Scotland more of the country parson than I ever was in my life before, quite devoted to the sober work of visiting and examining—scarcely ever without the limits of my parish, and not once at Anster or St. Andrews since I returned from my excursion.

"You hinted to me, when in London, the propriety of making some effort in the way of publication. To this I am encouraged by the success of my last effort, which, however little known in London, and in spite of the angry opposition it met with, sold unexpectedly well in this part of the country. I have accordingly been engaged in some discussions on the subject of the Public Revenue, which I think may excite the attention of politicians. Wilkie, the celebrated painter, spent a day with me lately, and promises to make the thing as ex-

tensively known as possible among his literary acquaintances in London. * * * Yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

One-half of the projected volume was already written, when his brother was thus told of its being commenced. At a still earlier period of his life, Political Economy had been a favourite study of Mr. Chalmers;* and the state of public affairs at this particular crisis invited him to certain investigations in that branch of science, the results of which he longed to promulgate, as in the highest degree consolatory and encouraging to the country. With the prospect before her of a protracted and expensive war, the alarm had spread widely that her capabilities to continue it were about to be extensively crippled. In November 1806, Bonaparte had issued his famous Berlin Decree, shutting the ports of every country on the continent over which his influence extended against all vessels which had cleared from British harbours, and confiscating all cargoes of British goods, however carried. Austria, Prussia, and Russia, their armies beaten on the field by France, had already been forced into this commercial war with England, and Portugal and Spain, threatened by the same victorious power, appeared to be on the eve of joining a coalition which was to place the British islands in a state of blockade. Our merchants and manufacturers fancied themselves on the brink of ruin; and the country generally shared their terror, believing that, to whatever extent our trade was curtailed, to the same extent our national resources would suffer loss. In the apprehension of Mr. Chalmers, this alarm was altogether groundless. He could demonstrate, he thought, that the whole loss which the country should suffer, even if the measures of Bonaparte were to succeed, would be the loss of those luxuries which foreign trade

* See Testimonial by Dr. Brown, in Appendix G.

supplied—not any diminution of that general fund out of which these luxuries were paid for, and by which all our manufactures were upheld; and, if that fund remained entire, then, with less to do in ministering to personal enjoyment, it would have more than ever to offer to Government for the upholding of national independence. The discussions out of which this cheering conclusion emerged were so vigorously prosecuted, that they should have been completed ere the year had closed, had not a severe illness intervened.

"ANSTRUTHER, *December* 4, 1807.

"DEAR JAMES,—I am here for a change of air, having just recovered from a fever which has thrown me back two months in all my speculations. In your last you seem to intimate something like a suspicion that the subject of my proposed publication is not a popular one. Of all others, I believe it a subject most adapted to the present circumstances of the country. It is entitled an 'Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources;' and though upon a general subject, and chiefly intended to elucidate some questions in the science of political economy, yet I cannot forbear interspersing a number of allusions to the present aspect of affairs. I got a pamphlet lately from London, entitled 'Britain Independent of Commerce,'* which I see has attracted the notice of

* "Britain Independent of Commerce; or, Proofs deduced from an Investigation into the true Causes of the Wealth of Nations, that our riches, prosperity, and power, are derived from resources inherent in ourselves, and would not be affected even though our Commerce were annihilated. By William Spence, F.L.S. London: Cadell and Davies, 1807." This pamphlet ran rapidly through three editions, and was reviewed both in the Monthly and Edinburgh Reviews. It was answered by James Mill in an elaborate pamphlet of 154 pages, entitled "Commerce Defended; an Answer to the Arguments by which Mr. Spence, Mr. Cobbett, and others, have attempted to prove that Commerce is not a Source of National Wealth;" and, by R. Torrens, in a pamphlet called "The Economists Refuted; or, an Enquiry into the Nature and Extent of the Advantages derived from Trade." In 1808, Mr. Spence published a second pamphlet, entitled "Agriculture the

Cobbett, the author of the Political Register. Several of its discussions coincide with those I had before prepared upon the same subject, though my plan embraces a greater variety of investigation; and I have the vanity to think that my illustrations of the argument are more perspicuous and impressive.

"The great burden of my argument is, that the manufacturer who prepares an article for home consumption is the servant of the inland consumer, labouring for his gratification, and supported by the price which he pays for the article;—that the manufacturer of an article for exportation is no less the servant of the inland consumer, because, though he does not labour immediately for his gratification, he labours for a return from foreign countries. This return comes in articles of luxury, which fetch a price from our inland consumers. Hence it is ultimately from the inland consumer that the manufacturer of the exported article derives his maintenance. Suppose, then, that trade and manufacture were destroyed, this does not affect the ability of the inland consumer. The whole amount of the mischief is, that he loses the luxuries which were before provided for him, but he still retains the ability to give the same maintenance as before to the immense population who are now discarded from their former employments. Suppose this ability to be transferred to Government in the form of a tax. Government takes the discarded population into its service. They follow their subsistence wherever it can be found; and thus, from the ruin of our trading and manufacturing interest, Go-

Source of the Wealth of Britain; a Reply to the Objections urged by Mr. Mill, the Edinburgh Reviewers, and others, against the doctrine of a pamphlet entitled 'Britain Independent of Commerce;' with Remarks on the Criticism of the Monthly Reviewers upon that work. By W. Spence." Not satisfied with leaving the controversy in this condition, the Edinburgh Reviewers entered the lists a second time, in vol. xiv. p. 50. There can be little doubt that the pre-occupation of the public mind with the speculations of Mr. Spence seriously interfered with the success of Mr. Chalmers' publication.

vernment collects the means of adding to the naval and military establishments of the country. I therefore anticipate that Bonaparte, after he has succeeded in shutting up the markets of the continent against us, will be astonished—and that the mercantile politicians of our own country will be no less astonished—to find Britain as hale and vigorous as ever, and fitter than before for all the purposes of defence and security, and political independence.—Yours affectionately,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"KILMANY, *January* 5, 1808.

"DEAR JAMES,—I received yours, and feel myself a good deal stimulated by your observations. With all my activity, however, I shall not get my revisal finished before the 1st of February. My fever was a cruel interruption; and it left a languor behind it which rendered me useless for several weeks. It is perhaps unfortunate for my book, that my two first chapters are among the most abstract and uninteresting of the whole. This was unavoidable, as it was necessary to establish the principles of my reasoning before I could proceed to the more useful or popular applications. The following is a catalogue of my chapters:—

"Chap. I.—The Case of a country secluded from all Foreign Intercourse.

"I here attempt to prove, that the utility of a manufacture lies entirely in working up certain articles for the enjoyment of customers. If the manufacture is destroyed, the whole amount of the mischief is the loss of the enjoyment. The maintenance of the manufacturers ought not to be taken into the account. This maintenance still lies in the hands of their customers, and can be given to them with as much liberality as ever for some new service. If this new service is the service of the Government in the capacity of soldiers, the whole

amount of the change is a change of employment to manufacturers; and to the customer it is the exchange of one advantage for another—the exchange of luxury for comfort and independence.

"Chap. II.—The Case of a country which carries on Foreign Trade, but is subsisted by its own Agricultural Produce.

"I here attempt to prove, that the manufacturer of the exported commodity derives his maintenance from the inland consumer, and is therefore as much under his control as the home manufacturer. Though his present employment were destroyed, the maintenance still exists to give him the same advantages in some new service, as in the case of the home manufacturer.

"Chap. III.—The Case of a country which has to import Agricultural Produce.

"This is in some degree applicable to Britain, though to a much less extent than is generally imagined. From the most authentic catalogues, it appears that the number subsisted upon foreign grain amounts to about $\frac{1}{33}$ of the whole population. The agricultural resources of England are immense, and far more than sufficient to feed all this redundant population.

"Chap. IV.—On Profit and Capital.

"What is true of labourers is true of capitalists. The revenue they derive in the way of profit is from a previous ability existing in the country. Though their trade is annihilated, the ability is still in reserve to give them as good an income as before in some other employment. The army holds out as great a number of good situations, in proportion to the number of which it is composed, as any trading establishment does in proportion to the number of its labourers. The extended branches of the Government service hold out an equal number of openings for our discarded capitalists, as well as for our discarded labourers.

"Chap. V.—On the Distinction between Productive and Unproductive Labour.

"I here attempt to combat the definition of Dr. Adam Smith.

"Chap. VI.—On Taxation.

"I take up the merits of two systems of taxation—a tax upon consumption and a tax upon income. The course of my speculations leads me to a decided preference for the latter.

"Chap. VII.—On the Effects of Taxation upon the Labouring Classes of the Community.

"Among other topics, I discuss the merits of the compulsory system by which men are dragged into the service of the country.

"Chap. VIII.—The consideration of some Difficulties and Objections."

In the chapter on Taxation the following suggestion is made as to the mode of levying an income-tax:—"It is the excess of income above that which is laid out in purchasing the necessaries of existence, which contributes the only fund out of which the public revenue is raised. Let a man be taxed then by the portion he possesses of this fund; let him be exempted for that part of his income which only raises him to an equality with the labourer. We shall suppose the exemption to extend to £50 a-year. If a sum of £50 a-year, then, is exempted, it is unfair to tax a man of £60 by the whole of his income. He should only be taxed by his excess above £50. Let him be exempted for his £50, and let him pay an aliquot part of his excess above £50, or an aliquot part of £10. If this aliquot part be one-fifth, let him pay one-fifth of £10, or £2. Extending this rule to higher incomes, let the income of £70 be taxed one-fifth of £20, or let it pay £4; the income of £80 pay £6; the income of £100 pay £10. * * * And so of all incomes whatsoever."—Pp. 272, 273.

The conviction, that this was the best and most equitable way of imposing an income-tax, remained with Dr. Chalmers through life; and on a late occasion, when this tax was reimposed by Sir Robert Peel, he earnestly urged its adoption in any influential quarter to which he had access. It is now more than thirty years since the suggestion was first made by the then unknown minister of Kilmany. In one of the latest and ablest treatises on political economy the following passage occurs:—"The mode of adjusting these inequalities of pressure which seems to be the most equitable, is that recommended by Bentham, of leaving a certain minimum of income sufficient to provide the necessaries of life, untaxed. Suppose £50 a year to be an income ordinarily sufficient to provide a moderately numerous labourer's family with the requisites of life and health, and with protection against habitual bodily suffering, but not with any indulgences. This, then, should be made the minimum; and incomes exceeding it should pay taxes, not upon their whole amount, but upon the surplus. If the tax be ten per cent., an income of £60 should be considered as a net income of £10, and charged with £1 a year; while an income of £1000 should be charged as one of £950. Each would then pay a fixed proportion, not of his whole means, but of his superfluities."*

In treating of the compulsory system by which the army and navy were then supplied with men, Mr. Chalmers says—"I can never consent to call that a voluntary service into which men are decoyed by artifice, or driven by vice and by misfortune—to which they fly as a refuge from infamy, or as the last shift for an existence—which is held out as an asylum to acquitted criminals, and a hiding-place to all whom ignominy and misconduct have compelled to abandon the neighbourhood of their acquaintances. The army is not a voluntary

* Mill's Principles of Political Economy, vol. ii. p. 351.

service unless men are allured into it by rational inducements; but instead of this, the only possible way of getting men is by tricking them into an imprudence. You beset them in the hour of intoxication; you try to overset their firmness by holding out the immediate temptation of a bounty; you avail yourselves of all their little embarrassments, and employ a set of despicable agents, whose business is to wheedle and falsify and betray. * * * The liberal policy of sufficient pay is unknown to you. You grudge every penny that is bestowed on the defenders of the country. Yes, the wealth of the country is otherwise bestowed. It is spent with the most prodigal hand on those labourers who provide their employers with the gewgaws of splendour and fashion and luxury; while violence and constraint and misery are the inheritance of those brave men who form the palladium of our nation's glory, and the protection of its dearest interests. * * * Let us hasten to redress this crying enormity. Let it be a voluntary service. Individuals, when they want servants, go to market and enlist them for a term of months. Let Government imitate their example—let it go to market and enlist for a term of years. Let it be no longer a slavery for life; and let the burning ignominy of corporal punishment be done away. Make the situation of a soldier respectable, and annex to it such advantages as may be sufficient to allure into the army the strength and substance of our most valuable population."—Pp. 278-290.

By the Army Service Bill, introduced by the present able and enlightened Secretary-at-War in 1847, the old system of life-enlistment has been abolished, and in its stead a system of limited enlistment introduced, the infantry soldier enlisting now for ten years, the cavalry and artillery for twelve. A large advance has thus been made towards rendering the condition of the soldier all that Mr. Chalmers in 1808 desired. It may

require more than another thirty years to realize the reform pointed to in the following passage:—

"What is true of soldiers, is true of officers. Their allowance is shamefully little. If you wish to exalt the military character of the country, you must give *éclat* to the military service. You must annex to it the most honourable distinctions; you must reform the vicious system of military preferment; you must banish all political and pecuniary influence; you must institute an inviolable order of preferment, and put it beyond the putrifying touch of money or politics. Let it be a fair race in the career of ambition; and to every office, however humble, let there be annexed the vision of future glory, and the highest anticipations of future eminence."—Pp. 292, 293.

It was a frequent remark of the author of these suggestions, that if nature had specially fitted him for any one profession above another, it was that of a military engineer. It seems a pity not to preserve here the only specimen which his writings present to us of his abilities in this peculiar walk. In the conclusion of this volume he says—"It is with the utmost diffidence that I hazard an opinion on the detail of military operations. But it must strike the most inattentive observer, that France has established herself in the different countries around her, not because these countries had arrived at the limit of their resources, but because, from the rapidity of the invader, they had not time to convert their resources to the purposes of defence—they had not time to collect their disposable population, and train it to the business of war. * * * It is too prevailing a maxim in this country, that the question of invasion must be decided in a moment—that we must overpower the enemy on the beach—that the country must not be exposed to the miseries of a protracted warfare—that the whole of our mili-

tary strength must be brought at once to bear upon the enemy —and that we must attempt to anticipate him by some great and decisive stroke at the very outset of his operations. This appears to me to be the most ruinous and mistaken policy. What! shall we commit the independence of the empire to the issue of a single engagement? Shall we rest our security upon the uncertain fortunes of one army, when, with the advantage of a little time, we could summon up out of the disposable population a succession of armies, which, with the discipline and preparation of a few months, would be fit to repel invasion on a scale of greater magnitude than any that all Europe will ever put into execution? * * * The delusive importance annexed to the metropolis may often tempt an invaded country to step beyond that defensive policy which is its true interest at the outset of its military operations. Had Austria abandoned Vienna at the very outset of its unfortunate contest, and Prussia abandoned Berlin, it would have given at this moment a new aspect to the politics of Europe. What is a metropolis, in fact? It is a great collection of houses, occupied in general by a part of our disposable population, who supply the country around them with the productions of their industry. If an enemy comes there, he may find much wealth —that is, he may destroy or take possession of many valuable commodities; but I venture to say that, with all his power of mischief, he is not able to take from us more than what would supply the luxuries of a few months, and which, if he had not taken away, would at the end of that time have been destroyed by the consumption of purchasers. The whole amount of the mischief, then, is the loss of a few months' luxuries; and though the invader was allowed to take his full swing of depredation and violence in every part of the country, all that he could possibly destroy would bear no greater proportion to the whole value of the island than the movables of an estate do to

the estate itself. I would not surrender a single military point for the sake of the metropolis; I would not abandon a single position; I would not risk a single uncertainty; I would survey the country with the eye of an officer; I would look upon the island as if it were a blank surface, and regulate my military operations in the same way as if no metropolis existed.

* * * * * *

"Britain is now called upon to act a brilliant part in the history of the world. She is not able to revolutionize Europe, but she is able to hold out to her the example of an independent country. She is able to perpetuate in the world the only remnant of liberty that exists in it, and to present to the weary eye one bright spot on the troubled theatre of political affairs. Were it a total extinction of liberty, its cause might be desperate and irrecoverable; ages to come might lie buried under the violence of a rude and unsettled despotism, and the better days of man might die away from the memory of the species. But there is some ground for anticipation to build upon when we reflect that there still exists in the world one solitary asylum for the principles of liberty—that there remains one animating example for the nations of Europe to appeal to—that the time may yet come when this example shall have its influence, when there shall be some new fluctuation in the tide of human affairs, when this awful storm shall blow over, and the sunshine of happier days shall smile upon our children."

By the end of January, the labour of composition was closed; in February, Mr. Chalmers went to Edinburgh, where he remained while his work was passing through the press; and on Monday, the 28th March, the volume was published. Of the 500 copies which were printed, 150 were despatched to London. The briskness of the sale in Scotland suggested the idea of a second edition; and the prospect of that edition issuing speedily

and with *éclat* from the London press, prompted the following rapid series of communications to his brother James :—

"KILMANY, *April* 6, 1808.

"With regard to my going to London on the business of a second edition, I should find it very inconvenient; and I have, therefore, a plan to propose, which I hope may meet your approbation. Consult with my friend Mr. Wilkie. If a second edition is resolved upon, let it be begun without delay. Find a good printer, and a good bookseller. They have the first edition to copy from; and, with the trouble of about one hour a-day from you, the proof-sheets may be corrected, and the thing completed in a fortnight. I write Mr. Wilkie by this post, so I would thank you to call upon him, and concert matters as speedily as possible."

"*April* 13*th*.—Fifty copies have been sent to Liverpool, and the sale is going on in this quarter with unexpected rapidity. No advertisement has yet appeared in the London papers. I beg you will attend to this; and what Longman neglects to do in that way, do yourself."

"*April* 15*th*.—I have just received yours, and am much mortified by the non-arrival of my copies. What, in the name of Heaven, is the meaning of it? The wind has been fair. If Longman and Rees are not active enough, get other publishers. It is selling rapidly in this quarter; but what I sigh for is to be fairly introduced to the public in London."

"*April* 16*th*.—The sale goes on briskly here; but I do not think I am published till I appear in London. Mr. Perceval's* making no observations, is of no consequence. He may not have read it; and even though he has read it, he may not relish it, because he and his colleagues are all mercantile. I would even esteem Cobbett's refusing to insert my abstract as

* A presentation copy had been sent to Mr. Perceval.

by no means a discouraging circumstance; for Cobbett is an enemy to taxation. Both parties and individuals may condemn it, not because they can refute its principles, but because they dislike them. All this may happen, but I would not be discouraged by it; for, throwing aside all regard to individuals, and the opinions of individuals, my whole anxiety is to be fairly and speedily introduced to the notice of a London public. If you can push off a large second edition, and in this way give me a footing in London, I shall bethink myself of other plans, and probably come southwards to develop them."

"*April* 17*th*.—I hear that my book is going well off in Glasgow; but London is the grand object of my anxiety. My advertisement has not yet appeared in your papers. I pester you so much with letters that I think you are entitled to insert the postage as an item in the expense of publication."

"*April* 20*th*.—I understand that my advertisement has appeared in the London papers, and am much pleased to observe my abstract in Cobbett's Register. I learn from Edinburgh that the bookseller there is reduced to fifty copies, and from different accounts of the sales in other places, I think you are fairly warranted to commence a second edition. The only thing wanted is to impress the public with the idea that it is by no means a fleeting or ephemeral performance—that it is a subject of permanent importance, and independently of all application to the present circumstances of the country, that it offers some new and original doctrines to political science."

"*May* 3*d*.—What I have now resolved on is to offer the edition to an Edinburgh bookseller in the first instance. It is likely that their want of enterprise may intimidate them from undertaking it, in which case I go to London and negotiate the business with some bookseller there. I am astonished at the silence of my friend Wilkie. Have you seen or heard of him?"

"*May* 12*th*.—I had a letter some days ago from Wilkie, in

which he mentions the favourable impression which my book had made upon some of his literary acquaintances, and that one of them had prepared a letter for Cobbett, but withheld it on seeing the letter which you inserted. This was wrong, as there is nothing like keeping it perpetually in the public eye, and dinning the public ear with it in all directions. The oftener you write to me the welcomer, even though you have nothing particular to say. I think that one of Wilberforce's late speeches smelled a little of my principles. I wonder if he has read the book."

"*May* 13*th.*—Edinburgh and Glasgow are each left without a copy. I shall begin a new edition next week. Had the same proportional justice been done in London, a second edition should have been off before this time."

"*May* 20*th.*—I received your 'Literary Advertiser,' and at the same time a copy of the 'Examiner,' a weekly paper, of Sunday the 8th, which takes notice of me in respectful terms. I beg you will see and ascertain whether the editors of the two Reviews I before mentioned were each presented with a copy of the work."

"*May* 25*th.*—I have directed my friend Mr. Wilkie to take in offers. If something considerable is offered I will take it; but rather than want the co-operation of a London publisher, I will be content with a mere nothing of pecuniary advantage. * * * I have just received yours of the 21st. I feel very averse to going up to London, and if I attempt it at all it will be by sea. Have the reviewers got copies?"

"*June* 28*th.*—Wilkie has reversed my plan.* Let an edition of 1000 copies be offered to the booksellers on the most

* Mr. Wilkie attempted to obtain something for the copyright of the work by effecting an absolute sale; whereas Mr. Chalmers was chiefly anxious that a second edition should be published on any terms. The following extracts from his diary show what trouble Mr. Wilkie had taken in the matter :—

advantageous terms that can be procured. If they are backward, I surrender every consideration of emolument, and offer it to them on no terms, only that they take the risk and management, and proceed to the execution of it immediately. If this cannot be accomplished, I take my place in a Dundee smack, and come up to London and attempt to negotiate the thing myself. So much am I convinced of what remains to be done, and of the truth and importance of the discussion, that I will rather undertake the journey than not have it settled. The truth is, that the subject of my book is not ephemeral. It contains discussions of permanent importance; and not a person who is profoundly versant in the writings of Dr. Smith who does not see that if my principles are found to be conclusive, they will give a wholly different aspect to the science of political economy. The Farmer's Magazine has belaboured me with twenty pages of abuse.* It is a coarse and ignorant invective."

EXTRACTS FROM WILKIE'S DIARY.

"*May 27th*, 1808.—Had a letter from Mr. Chalmers, authorizing me to dispose of the copyright of his work.

"*June 8th*.—Called on Mr. Murray in Fleet Street, who promised to give me an answer respecting Mr. Chalmers's book in a day or two.

"*June 16th*.—Called at Mr. Murray's, and found that he had made no offer for Chalmers's work.

"*June 23d*.—To Miller's after breakfast, but got little encouragement for Chalmers's work.

"*June 25th*.—Went to Longman and Rees, and proposed that they should purchase Chalmers's work, and was told by them, that till it was noticed by the reviews there was little chance of the book selling.

"*June 27th*.—Wrote to Chalmers to tell him of my bad success with his work." —*Cunningham's Life of Wilkie*, vol. i. pp. 175-180.

* In the Number for June 1808, p. 221. A still more abusive notice appeared in the July Number of the Eclectic Review, which closes in these terms:—"Mr. Chalmers's style is flowing and showy. He is warm and declamatory, but excessively diffuse. Instead of regularly pursuing the course of his argument, he sets himself to galloping and frisking round every particular idea of it, till he becomes quite giddy, and wears out the patience of his reader. His command of language is probably a snare to him; for as he seems to be at no loss for words, he is led to mistake fluency of expression for fertility of thought."

"*July* 23*d.*—I purpose setting off for London about the middle of August. My great object is to get introduced into some of the literary circles. The great success I have met with in Scotland encourages me to hope that I may meet with proportional success in the greater theatre of the metropolis if I could only get into the way."

But those days which in anticipation he had devoted to literary adventure in the great theatre of the metropolis were to be spent in the retirements of Anstruther, amid the sorrows of the sick-chamber and under the shadow of death. While waiting to hear of the day on which Thomas was to sail for London, James received the following communication from his father —

"ANSTRUTHER, 1*st August*, 1808.

"I only write to prevent any surprise from the intelligence which I fear I must soon communicate to you. My dear Barbara has within these few days weakened very fast Till the 27th ult. she went out on horseback every day, and complained of no toil, but was rather refreshed with her ride. On that day she became so weak as since not to have been able to leave her room. There is nothing impossible with God, but to human appearance her dissolution is not far distant My weakness overcomes me much. I have every comfort that a parent could have in separation from a beloved child. I behold in her a cheerful submission to the will of God, and a humble confidence in the satisfaction of her great Redeemer. Her situation is not known to the Kilmany family, as the turn in her disorder is since we last wrote to them."

The same fatal malady which had carried George to the grave had seized upon Barbara. No earthly hope was left. Through three dreary weeks of great suffering she had still to struggle. But that great Redeemer upon whose satisfaction

her confidence had been cast, made clear unto her the path of life; and while she walked through the dark valley, the light of His presence shone brightly and steadily upon her, and neither doubt nor fear having visited her, she passed into the presence of God.

"ANSTRUTHER, *20th August*, 1808.

"DEAR JAMES,—Barbara died last night after a most tedious and severe illness. It was the near prospect of this event that restrained my departure for London, which would have taken place some time ago. At present I have no decided intention upon the subject, but will write you soon.—I am, &c.,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

CHAPTER VII.

WINTER AT WOODSMUIR—FIRST SPEECH IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—BECOMES A CONTRIBUTOR TO THE EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPÆDIA—EARLY RELIGIOUS OPINIONS—DEATH OF MR. BALLARDIE—SEVERE ILLNESS, AND ITS EFFECTS.

"WHAT a severe winter we have had!—another desperate attack of frost and snow within these few days—the very beer freezing in the bottles." Mr. Chalmers wrote thus to his brother James from his winter quarters at Woodsmuir, a house to which he had removed in the autumn of 1808, and which lying close upon the Fifeshire coast of the Frith of Tay, had been recommended to him by the enlivening prospect which it commanded of Dundee and the shipping of the river. His letter is dated on Thursday, the 8th of February 1809, the very day set apart as a national fast on account of the recent battle of Corunna, and the loss of one of the greatest of British generals. Like every other minister in Scotland, Mr. Chalmers had to open his church for public worship, and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion. To discharge this duty, he had the cold and snow of a five miles' walk to brave. "I made my way," he says, "through the drift from Woodsmuir to Kilmany. I had none but the villagers to preach to, and I got them convened in my dining-room." And it was to that small shivering group, convened in the damp dining-room of the old and uninhabited manse, that he preached as eloquent a sermon as was delivered that day from the best of

British pulpits, or as was listened to by the most brilliant audience in the land.*

A recent act of the legislature† had declared that no stipend of any clergyman in Scotland which had been augmented before the passing of this act should be augmented again till after a period of fifteen years; and that no stipend augmented after the passing of the act, should be augmented again till after a period of twenty years. Looking into this statute with an eye made all the keener perhaps in its vision that the time for the augmentation of his own living was drawing on, Mr. Chalmers perceived that owing to the date fixed as that from which the interval between the two augmentations should be calculated, it might be lengthened out in a manner most vexatious to a minister, and so as to defeat the obvious intention of the legislature. This defect in the bill was brought before the Supreme Judicatory of the Church of Scotland by overture from the Presbytery of Cupar. It was in support of this overture that on Thursday, the 25th May 1809, Mr. Chalmers made his maiden speech in the General Assembly. The topic was a sufficiently dry and barren one, fit enough for a good legal pleading, but ill calculated, we should have thought, for eloquence or illustration. The speaker besides laboured under the great disadvantage that the bill, the construction of one of whose leading clauses it was his object to impugn, had already been submitted to the law committee, and been approved of by the leaders of the Church. Nevertheless, a few sentences only had been uttered when the singular ingenuity and eloquence of the pleader arrested the whole house. Vigorous reasoning, genial humour, practical sagacity, large and generous sentiment, all broke out in the fervid and rapidly spoken utterance. "Do you know anything of this man?" said Dr.

* The reader will find this sermon in Dr. Chalmers' Posthumous Works, vol. vi. p. 62.

† 48th Geo. III.; passed 30th June 1808.

Campbell to a minister who sat near him, "he is surely a most extraordinary person." The question was on many lips besides Dr. Campbell's as the speaker sat down.* When the house had recovered from its surprise, and the Fifeshire ministers had satisfied the curiosity of inquirers as to this new speaker, Dr. Inglis proceeded to read the report of the committee upon the legal provision of the ministers of the Church. Both Mr. Chalmers and the person who was to have seconded his motion imagined that the way was quite open to them after the report was read. On presenting themselves, however, they were told that through their ignorance of the forms of the house, they had let the opportunity for pressing their motion irrecoverably escape; that the unseconded motion had already fallen to the ground, and could not be brought forward again. Mr. Chalmers breakfasted on the following morning with Dr. Brewster.† One of the party present warmly congratulated him on the well-reasoned and brilliant speech of the preceding day. "Yes,"

* In closing his speech, he said—"It is quite ridiculous to say that the worth of the clergy will suffice to keep them up in the estimation of society. This worth must be combined with importance. Now, it is our part to supply the element of worth, and it is the part of the Court of Session to supply the element of importance. Give both worth and importance to the same individual, and what are the terms employed in describing him? 'A distinguished member of society, the ornament of a most respectable profession, the virtuous companion of the great, and a generous consolation to all the sickness and poverty around him.' These, Moderator, appear to me to be the terms peculiarly descriptive of the appropriate character of a clergyman, and they serve to mark the place which he ought to occupy; but take away the importance, and leave only the worth, and what do you make of him?—what is the descriptive term applied to him now? Precisely the term which I often find applied to many of my brethren, and which galls me to the very bone every moment I hear it—'*a fine body*;' a being whom you may like, but whom I defy you to esteem; a mere object of endearment; a being whom the great may at times honour with the condescension of a dinner, but whom they will never admit as a respectable addition to their society. Now, all that I demand of the Court of Teinds, is to be raised, and that as speedily as possible, above the imputation of being '*a fine body*;' that they would add importance to my worth and give splendour and efficacy to those exertions which have for their object the most exalted interests of the species."

† Now Sir David Brewster.

said he, breaking out of the silent and contemplative mood in which at the moment he was indulging—"Yes; but what did it signify—it had no effect—nothing followed upon it." It had the effect at least of subjecting him to a whole host of applications. "I have been beset," he wrote to his father a few days afterwards, "from all quarters to publish my speech." "Beseech Chalmers of Kilmany," so wrote Mr. Andrew Thomson to Dr. Brewster, "to publish his speech; he should and must do it." The speech was at last committed to the press.*

The winter months at Woodsmuir had been devoted to the collecting of materials for different articles which he had undertaken to prepare for the Edinburgh Encyclopædia. Some months before his sister's death, he had been invited by Dr. Brewster, the editor of that work, to become one of the contributors. The invitation was at once gladly and gratefully accepted. Writing to Dr. Brewster on the 23d April, 1808, he said—"I go into St. Andrews in the course of a week or two to rummage its library, and ascertain whether I shall like the articles you did me the honour to propose. There is one article in Mathematics which I have conceived a fancy for, and which, if it interfere with no other person, I will undertake—'Trigonometry.' I am now busy with Cagnoli;† and I think it would be doing a service to give a view of the very extensive application of trigonometrical formulæ both to analysis and physics." After his sister Barbara's death, he wrote to Dr. Brewster, requesting that the article "Christianity"‡ might be committed

*** A second edition of this speech was published in 1818. Dr. Chalmers had intended that it should be comprised in the series of his works published by Mr. Collins; but having omitted to indicate his desire, it has not been included.**

† Cagnoli, a native of Zante, was author of the "Trigonometria plana e sferica," published in 1783, and afterwards translated into French. This work was long considered a standard treatise.

‡ This subject had been committed, in the first instance, to Dr. Andrew Thomson, then minister of Perth, who consented to give it up when informed of Mr. Chalmers' strong desire to undertake it.

to him. He urged the request with earnestness, expressing his extreme anxiety to do the subject justice, and stating his resolution to live three or four months in St. Andrews for the express purpose of consulting the necessary authorities. In the absence of definite information as to what had induced him to make this request, and to cherish so strong a desire that it should be complied with, we may be permitted to conjecture that the renewed impressions of the second death-scene at Anstruther had awakened the conviction, that among the subjects that were to engage his thoughts for the winter, it would be well that one at least connected with religion should find a place. In selecting the Christian Evidences, he was neither influenced by any novelty in the subject, nor any change in his convictions regarding it. His faith in the divine origin of Christianity had been early established, and the evidence on which that faith rested had years before been carefully investigated. When his work on the "Evidences of Christianity" was put into the hands of one who had heard him frequently while he was assistant to Mr. Elliot, many of its discussions were recognised as having many years previously been propounded from the pulpit at Cavers. From a Diary kept at the time by Dr. Duff of Kenmore, I extract the following entry:—"*St. Andrews, 12th September*, 1802.—Went out to hear Mr. Thomas Chalmers preach at Denino; spoke in a stream of glowing eloquence, but was much too violent in gesture, and had none of the graces of good delivery. Dined together at the manse; he talked of the difficulties which students met with in searching after divine truth; considered the historical evidence of Christianity the most satisfactory, and that little value is to be attached to the internal evidence apart from the external." In a lecture addressed evidently to a mixed audience, and in all probability delivered to the chemical class at St. Andrews, he said:—"There is a line of reading allotted to certain pro-

fessions, and there is a general line of reading allotted to them who, without any professional object, pursue literature as an elegant amusement, or aspire to a moderate degree of literary cultivation. The general course of reading comprehends novels, of which many are excellent, and many are most vitiating and seductive; works in history, to enrich our minds with the science of human nature and the principles of human society; works of taste, to multiply our innocent and delightful enjoyments; works of morality, to chastise the deficiencies of the heart and temper, and to give to the humbler scenes of life the tone of philosophy and high sentiment. This is all excellent, and there is only one deficiency which I am anxious to supply; and no one who knows me will ascribe it to the gloom of puritanical solemnity, or stigmatize it as the melancholy whimper of a poor and pitiful fanaticism. What I allude to is a few of the best and most elementary treatises on the evidences of Christianity. This is a species of literature in which England, I believe, has taken the lead of all the countries in Christendom. The work of Paley is excellent. It will do more than instruct; it will interest and delight you; it will prove an effectual antidote against infidel opinions. The truth of Christianity is neither more nor less than the truth of certain facts that have been handed down to us by the testimony of reporters. Let the historical evidences on which it rests be made to pass in review, and become the subject of sober inductive examination;—let the question be decided by a fair and patient inquiry;—let the enemies of our faith show the world that their infidelity rests on higher grounds than a stale invective against the jugglery of priests, or the pertness of a flippant witticism;—let them bring along with them the spirit of cool and candid reflection, an anxiety after truth, and a ready submission to evidence. How little do they think, as they strut along in the pride of the infidel philosophy, how

little of the spirit and temper of true philosophy is in them—of that humble cautious spirit which Bacon taught, and on which Newton rests the immortality of his genius. * * * There is a puppyism in infidelity for which I have no patience. I thought that now-a-days both gentlemen and philosophers would have been ashamed of it. At the commencement of last century one had some credit in sporting the language of unbelief and infidelity—for they were supported by the countenance of Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, who, in addition to their being peers of the realm, had a sufficient acquaintance with their mother tongue. But infidelity, like every other fashion, has had its day; and since the masterly and triumphant defences of our English divines, it has been generally abandoned by the superior and more enlightened classes of society, and, to use the words of an Oxford professor, is now rarely to be heard but in the language of bakers, and brewers, and bricklayers, and bell-menders, and bottle-blowers, and blackguards. * * * I revere Christianity, not because it is the religion of my fathers—I revere it, not because it is the established religion of my country—I revere it, not because it brings to me the emoluments of office; but I revere it because it is built upon the solid foundation of impregnable argument—because it has improved the world by the lessons of an ennobling morality, and because, by the animating prospects which it holds out, it alleviates the sorrows of our final departure hence, and cheers the gloomy desolation of the grave." The Rev. Mr. Smith,* who had frequent and close intercourse with Mr. Chalmers during the years 1808-1809, referring to the period

* The Rev. Mr. Smith, minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Dunning, taught the school at Galdry, in the immediate vicinity of Kilmany, from October 1807 till September 1810. He acted as amanuensis to Mr. Chalmers while preparing his work on the "Extent and Stability of National Resources" for the press, and while writing the earlier part of the article on Christianity. From the familiar intercourse which he enjoyed with Mr. Chalmers during all the period of his residence at Galdry, Mr. Smith's testimony becomes particularly valuable.

which preceded his undertaking the article on Christianity, says:—"Of the truth of Christianity he had a firm and unwavering belief. He unhesitatingly believed that the Scriptures are the Word of God, and that the Christian system is divine. In this conviction he had been firmly established at an early period of life, by reading Bishop Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion, &c. He told me that it was Butler's Analogy that made him a Christian." He did not need to be made a Christian by being converted from Deism, or what is generally spoken of as infidelity. The scepticism of his student years was one which affected the foundations of all religion, whether natural or revealed. And when that scepticism was cleared away, Butler's great work came in to do the signal service of satisfying him that there was nothing either in the contents or credentials of Christianity to weaken the force, much less to warrant the setting aside, of its own proper and peculiar proofs. These proofs he had investigated, and found valid. It was but to revive, therefore, the studies, and to re-establish the convictions of earlier years, that, under the impressions of his sister's death, he wished to be employed in drawing up a condensed statement and defence of the argument on behalf of the divine origin of Christianity.

But although his faith required and underwent no change as to the credentials of the Bible, it was not so with his views and impressions as to its contents. The sermons preached by him during that period sufficiently represent what those views and impressions were throughout the first six years of his ministry. That single-minded simplicity of character, which had not even to struggle with any tendencies to guile, lent a truthful transparency to all his utterances from his pulpit, and made his public ministry a full and faithful transcript of all his opinions and feelings as to religion. He never inculcated upon others what he did not fully and heartily believe himself;

he never (as was but too common in those days) kept back from his people any part of his own religious creed; nor did any fear of unpopularity restrain him from publicly and vehemently decrying that evangelism which he then nauseated and despised. I subjoin a summary of his religious creed, in the very words in which he presented it to his hearers at Kilmany:—

"In what particular manner the death of our Redeemer effected the remission of our sins, or rather, why that death was made a condition of this remission, seems to be an unrevealed point in the Scriptures. Perhaps the God of Nature meant to illustrate the purity of His perfection to the children of men; perhaps it was efficacious in promoting the improvement and confirming the virtue of other orders of being. The tenets of those whose gloomy and unenlarged minds are apt to imagine that the Author of Nature required the death of Jesus merely for the reparation of violated justice, are rejected by all free and rational inquirers. * * * Our Saviour, by the discharge of His priestly office, removed those obstacles to our acceptance with God which would have been otherwise invincible. But the obviating of difficulties was not the only part of Christ's mediatorship. The knowledge of some positive ground of acceptance was absolutely necessary, since the bare possibility of obtaining the Divine favour was not sufficient of itself to effect our salvation. The revelation of the means requisite for acceptance was therefore an essential part of Christ's undertaking; and in discharging His office as a prophet, in revealing the will of God for man's salvation, He has communicated a knowledge of these means in a most complete and satisfactory manner. With indignation do we see a speculative knowledge of the doctrines of Christianity preferred to the duties of morality and virtue. The cant of enthusiasm—the effusion of zeal—the unintelligible jargon of pretended knowledge—are too often considered

as the characteristics of a disciple of Jesus; whilst, amid all these deceitful appearances, justice, charity, and mercy, the great topics of Christ's admonitions, are entirely overlooked. Consult your Bibles, and you will find that these are the sure indications of the favour of heaven. * * * The rewards of heaven are attached to the exercise of our virtuous affections. The faith of Christianity is praiseworthy and meritorious, only because it is derived from the influence of virtuous sentiments on the mind. Let us tremble to think that any thing but virtue can recommend us to the Almighty. * * * He who has been rightly trained in his religious sentiments, by carefully perusing the Scriptures of truth, will learn thence, that the law of God is benevolence to man, and an abiding sense of gratitude and piety. He will estimate the deficiencies of his obedience by his deviations from the laws of social duty, and the frequent absence of right impressions of reverence and love. Having learned the comfortable doctrines of pardon and salvation, that by the death of Christ there is hope to the sincere and humble penitent who wishes to forsake the evil of his ways, he will go on, in the confidence of such declarations, in his endeavour to promote the glory of God and the welfare of the human race. A sense of the Divine goodness will open his heart to the sentiments of gratitude and love. He will study to approve himself worthy of such conduct by cultivating the graces of charity and piety. True, his best endeavours fall short of perfection, and, after all, he may be called an unprofitable servant; true, considering his numberless violations of the divine law, and the small progress he has made in the path of holiness, he may have reason to be discouraged; but contemplating the wonders of redeeming love, and finding all the deficiencies of his imperfect virtue supplied by the atonement and propitiation of Jesus, he goes on his course rejoicing, assured that, through Christ, his sincere but imperfect obedience

is looked upon by heaven with a propitious eye. But let him allow himself to be guided by the instructions of our mystical theologians, and all will be involved in gloom and obscurity. * * * Who but laments to see the luminous truths of Christianity invested thus with a veil of mysticism—to see the splendour of the Sun of Righteousness obscured in the mists of ignorance and superstition? Let us, my brethren, beware of such errors. Let us view such fanatical vagaries with the contempt they deserve, and walk in the certain path marked out to us by reason and by Scripture. Thus shall we rise superior to imaginary terrors, and learn to lament the real imperfections of our character. Thus shall we approve ourselves worthy of the Divine goodness, by directing our efforts to the cultivation of our pious affections, and to improvement of our social conduct. Thus shall we exemplify the real nature of the Christian service, which consists in gratefully adoring the Supreme Being, and in diffusing the blessed influences of charity, moderation, and peace."

The Christianity which thus clearly and confidently expressed itself, and which substantially was the promulgation of a modified, milder, and mitigated law, could scarcely have had a fairer trial made, both of its power of individual consolation and support, and of the possible reach and extent of its influence over others, than was made in the person of that eloquent advocate, in whose own character and conduct those social virtues, which it so strongly enjoined, were so attractively exhibited. We have to wait now but a few months till we see this slight and superficial Christianity fairly and fully put upon its trial—till we see it signally and utterly fail.

Before he went to the Assembly, Mr. Chalmers had removed from Woodsmuir to the farm-house of Fincraigs, to be nearer Kilmany, while his manse, which had already been commenced, was

building. He had scarcely reached Fincraigs, on his return from Edinburgh, when sad tidings arrived from Anstruther. His uncle, Mr. Ballardie, who had been a sailing-master in the navy, had long retired from the service, and having no family or near friends of his own, had been a kind of second father to his nephews and nieces.* He had already crossed, and Mr. Chalmers, senior, was now just touching the limits of the threescore years and ten, and the bond between them had been growing stronger as they grew older, till now not a day could pass without their being an hour or two in each other's company. And they were one in deep piety as well as in strong affection. Mr. Ballardie's wife had been dead for many years, and his house was kept by her sister. On the evening of the 6th June, he had retired to his own room after tea. His sister-in-law, finding that he remained longer away from her than was usual, followed. She found him kneeling on a chair in the very attitude of prayer, but the spirit had fled—apparently without pain or struggle it had taken its departure; and from this lowly posture before the throne of grace on earth had passed into the presence of the throne of glory in the heavens. Notice of the sudden and impressive death was instantly despatched to Kilmany: it found Mr. Chalmers in such a severe illness, contracted on his way home from the Assembly, that much as he longed to pay the last tokens of respect to the remains of his departed relative, he was prevented by the positive interdict of his medical attendant. "I cannot help," he said, after telling his father by letter of the un-

* Dr. Chalmers used often to tell that, when yet a very little boy, he was summoned to his uncle's side one day to get his first lesson in mathematics—a science in which Mr. Ballardie was no mean proficient, and which he put far above all the other branches of human knowledge. "What," said he, making a point upon the slate, "is that?" "A *dot*," said the young beginner. "Try again," said the uncle, ignorant of the already enlarged vocabulary of his scholar, and little doubting that the word, whose definition was to be the burden of the first lesson, would now come forth. "Try again; what is it?" "A *tick*," was the reply.

welcome restraint thus laid upon him—"I cannot help feeling the very severe loss which our family has sustained in a man whose attachment to every one of us, whose great kindness, great worth, and great integrity, shall ever endear his memory to all his acquaintances." The bulk of Mr. Ballardie's property was bequeathed to his brother-in-law's family. He left Thomas, as the bearer of his name, his house and furniture, and, along with his father, constituted him his trustee. The state of his health did not admit of Mr. Chalmers leaving Kilmany till the beginning of August. He returned to Anstruther at the close of September, and it was some exposure in coming home from that second visit, which threw him into that long, severe, and most momentous illness, during which the first stage of a great and entire spiritual revolution was accomplished in him. For four months he never left his room; for upwards of half a year he never entered his pulpit; it was more than a twelvemonth before all the duties of his parish were again regularly discharged by him. His illness, which was an affection of the liver, was such as to require the application of the very strongest medicines. "I visited him," says Professor Duncan, "at Fincraigs, where he was under the medical treatment of Dr. Ramsay of Dundee, and I certainly never saw any person so much altered in the same space of time, being then greatly attenuated, while formerly he was corpulent. He was scarcely able to walk across the room. It was a year or two before he recovered, and during that period he had much the appearance of an old man, of one who would never be able again for much exertion." But although the body was thus weakened and reduced, the mind was left in untouched vigour; and into it, now left to its own profound and solitary musings, there sunk the deepest and most overpowering impression of human mortality.

For upwards of twenty years death had never entered his

family circle. Perhaps the first time that he had ever stood face to face in presence of the last enemy, and seen the last stroke given, was when he witnessed the death of his brother George. But death was now to be no stranger: already had he borne away two of the family in his cold embrace; and two of his sisters were at this time threatened with the same fatal malady. Mr. Ballardie had passed into eternity in a moment. It seemed as if, once begun, the quick succession was to go on unbroken. A panic seized the family, as if one after another they were doomed to fall. Partaking fully of that panic, Mr. Chalmers believed that he was about to die. For days and weeks he gazed upon the death brought thus so near, with eye intent and solemnized. "My confinement," wrote Mr. Chalmers,* "has fixed on my heart a very strong impression of the insignificance of time—an impression which I trust will not abandon me though I again reach the heyday of health and vigour. This should be the first step to another impression still more salutary—the magnitude of eternity. Strip human life of its connexion with a higher scene of existence, and it is the illusion of an instant, an unmeaning farce, a series of visions and projects, and convulsive efforts, which terminate in nothing. I have been reading Pascal's Thoughts on Religion: you know his history—a man of the richest endowments, and whose youth was signalized by his profound and original speculations in mathematical science, but who could stop short in the brilliant career of discovery, who could resign all the splendours of literary reputation, who could renounce without a sigh all the distinctions which are conferred upon genius, and resolve to devote every talent and every hour to the defence and illustration of the Gospel. This, my dear sir, is superior to all Greek and to all Roman fame."

* In a Letter to his friend the Rev. Mr. Carstairs of Anstruther, dated Fincraigs, February 19, 1809.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EFFORT AFTER A PURE AND HEAVENLY MORALITY.

CONTEMPLATED from the confines of eternity, his past life looked to Mr. Chalmers like a feverish dream, the fruitless chasing of a shadow. Blinded by the fascination of the things seen and temporal, he had neglected the things unseen and eternal. He had left undischarged the highest duties of human life, and he had despised that faith which can alone lend enduring value to its labours, and shed the light of a satisfying hope around its close. How empty had all these bygone years been of God. True, he had not been wholly forgetful; many an adoring thought of the Almighty, as the great Creator, Upholder, Governor of the universe, had filled his mind, and many grateful feelings towards his heavenly Benefactor had visited his heart. But that, he now felt, was not enough. The clear unchallengeable right belonged to God over the full affection of the heart, the unremitting obedience of the life; but no such affection had been entertained; and it had been but seldom that a distinct regard to the will of God had given its birth or its direction to any movement of his past history. In name acknowledged, but in their true nature and extent misunderstood, he felt that his Creator's claims over him had been practically disallowed and dishonoured during his whole career. The meagre and superficial faith of former years could no longer satisfy him. It could not stand the scrutiny of the sick-room; it could not bear to be confronted with death; it gave way

under the application of its own chosen test; for surely, even reason taught that if man have a God to love and serve, and an eternity beyond death to provide for, towards that God a supreme and abiding sense of obligation should be cherished, and to the providing for that eternity the whole efforts of a lifetime should be consecrated. Convinced of the fatal error upon which the whole scheme of his former life had been constructed, Mr. Chalmers resolved upon a change. He would no longer live here as if here he were to live for ever. Henceforth and habitually he would recognise his immortality; and remembering that this fleeting pilgrimage was a scene of trial, a place of spiritual probation, he would dedicate himself to the service of God, and live with the high aim and purpose of one who was in training for eternity. It was a kind of life which had already been realized by countless thousands of his fellow-men, and why not by him? It had been realized by Pascal in making the sublime transition from the highest walks of science to the still higher walk of faith. It had been realized by those early Christians whose lives and testimonies he was now engaged in studying. Surrounded with such a cloud of witnesses, a new ambition, stronger and more absorbing than that which had thirsted so eagerly for literary fame, fired Mr. Chalmers' breast. Every thought of his heart, every word of his lip, every action of his life, he would henceforth strive to regulate under a high presiding sense of his responsibility to God; his whole life he would turn into a preparation for eternity. With all the ardour of a nature which never could do anything by halves, with all the fervour of an enthusiasm which had at length found an object worthy of its whole energies at their highest pitch of effort, he gave himself to the great work of setting himself right with God. The commencement of such an enterprise marks a great and signal epoch in his spiritual history. It sprung out of his profound sense of

human mortality; his vivid realizing of the life that now is in its connexion with the life that is to come; his recognition of the supremacy which God and the high interests of eternity should wield over the heart and life of man. It did not originate in any change in his speculative belief induced by his studies either of the contents or credentials of the Bible. In the course of that memorable transition-period which elapsed from the beginning of November 1809 till the close of December 1810, important modifications in his doctrinal views were undoubtedly effected. His partial discovery of the pervading and defiling element of ungodliness, gave him other notions of human depravity than those he had previously entertained, and prepared him not only to acquiesce in, but to appropriate to himself representations from which a year before he would have turned away with disgust. And with his altered view of human sinfulness, there came also an altered view of the atonement. He was prepared now to go farther than he had gone before in recognising the death of Christ as a true and proper sacrifice for sin. Still, however, while looking to that death for the removal of past guilt, he believed that it lay wholly with himself after he had been forgiven to approve himself to God, to win the Divine favour, to work out the title to the heavenly inheritance. The full and precise effect of Christ's obedience unto death was not as yet discerned. Over that central doctrine of Christianity which tells of the sinner's free justification before God through the merits of His Son, there hung an obscuring mist; there was a flaw in the motive which prompted the struggle in which Mr. Chalmers so devotedly engaged; there was a misconception of the object which it was possible by such a struggle to realize. More than a year of fruitless toil had to be described ere the true ground of a sinner's acceptance with God was reached, and the true principle of all acceptable obedience was implanted in his heart.

About four months after the beginning of this great struggle, Mr. Chalmers commenced to keep that Journal from which the following extracts are selected. Perhaps it is scarcely necessary to ask the reader of this Journal to remember, that, in the first instance, it was devoted exclusively to the record of felt deficiencies. This, its primary purpose, it most faithfully performs, exhibiting all the writer's faults, reflected from a mirror bright enough to give back the faintest shades of criminality. But as a full portraiture of the period, it is necessarily incomplete. It gives us most interesting glimpses of Mr. Chalmers in various positions—in his manse—with his relatives—at his desk—among his parishioners—in the pulpit; but the times at which these glimpses are gotten are when some grave fault worthy of formal record has been committed; and though we cannot say that the deviations chronicled so faithfully are magnified, yet, unless the reader's eye be used to the medium through which he is asked to look, it will require a slight effort on his part to assign the right shade, and to give the right proportions to all the traits of character successively developed before his view. It happens fortunately that, in order to preserve this memorial of his errors, Mr. Chalmers has to give some detail of the occasions on which they were committed; and so far as these details carry us, the very interior of his Kilmany life is opened up to us. There is much, however, about which this Journal leaves us uninformed. Casting our eye backward from the point at which we are now standing, we should have liked to have seen a little more distinctly into that chamber to which, while unable or forbidden to speak, Mr. Chalmers was for four months confined. Looking through the dimness, we have been able only to discern a wasted invalid, lying with a volume of Lardner or Voltaire or Pascal spread out before him; rising to pace his room with weak and tottering step; wearied with the

brief effort, reclining again—getting one or other of his sisters to read to him, or sending over to Galdry for Mr. Smith to wile away an evening hour by parish gossip, or by engaging in a game of cards. But there are hours of stillness and seclusion in that chamber, when the tread of the last enemy is heard as at the door, and when the spirit, stirred up at the sound, revolves and re-revolves its eternal destinies. Into these no light can guide us; we can but wait and watch for the precious fruits they are afterwards to bear. And, again, we should have liked to have seen him, when, able once more to see and converse with his old friends, the never-failing John Bonthron from the village, or the kind and most welcome Mr. Duncan from Dundee, dropped in to relieve the tedium of the day. There was much to tell such visitors that a change had happened since they had seen him last, for brief but solemn allusions, such as they had never heard from him before, dropped occasionally from his lips. And there was much to tell them that he was still unchanged. There were the same cordial greetings, the same kindly questionings about themselves and all their friends, and the same hearty laugh at the racy anecdote or stroke of quiet humour; for great as was the change effected, neither at the first, nor ever afterwards, did it damp or narrow that genial and most social spirit which carried him into varied intercourse with all classes of his fellow-men, and made the joy of that intercourse to be a very cordial to his heart. But though this Journal does not all for us that we could desire, we are most thankful for what it does. Its service is the greatest where our anxieties for information should be most profound; for by its light, the instructed and sympathizing reader will be able to trace with distinctness the steps by which, through many anxieties and efforts, Mr. Chalmers found his way at last to the peace and holiness of the gospel.

"*March* 17*th*, 1810.—I have this day completed my thirtieth year; and upon a review of the last fifteen years of my life, I am obliged to acknowledge, that at least two-thirds of that time have been uselessly or idly spent, and that there has all along been a miserable want of system and perseverance in the business of adding to my intellectual attainments. For by far the greater part of that time, too, there has been a total estrangement of my mind from religious principle; and my whole conduct has been dictated by the rambling impulse of the moment, without any direction from a sense of duty, or any reference to that eternity which should be the end and the motive of all our actions. My prayer to heaven is, that this record of my errors and deviations may be the happy mean of recalling me from folly and wickedness; that my temper, and my passions, and my conversation may be brought under the habitual regulation of principle; that the labours of my mind may be subservient to the interests of the gospel; that from this moment I may shake off caprice and indolence, and the mischief of ill-regulated passions; and that, with the blessing of the Divine assistance, I may be enabled to soar above the littleness of time, and give all for eternity.

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"I find, that before finishing La Grange on Numerical Equations, I would be greatly the better of reading his Theory of Analytic Functions, which I shall try to procure. I mean to suspend my mathematics, and fill up the interval with preparing a review of Charters' Sermons.

"*March* 18*th*.—Mr. L. preached at Balmerino on my account. and spent the evening with me. Tried to impress some of my peculiar views upon him, and failed of exciting his sympathy to the degree I wished. Must guard against the vanity of display, and let the steadiness of my principles develop itself chiefly in a vigorous and consistent line of conduct. Am much

delighted with a sentiment in Dr. Charters' sermon on Rev. i. 17, 18. It is to this effect:—Your lively feeling of the comforts of devotion depends on the state of the spirits. The want of this feeling is a misfortune; but it should not discourage the Christian who persists in his obedience. The truth is, that obedience in this situation, as being more difficult, may be considered as more disinterested, and pure, and acceptable to God.

"*March 19th.*—I have this day made a rough estimate of my yearly expenditure, and find from the result that my circumstances impose upon me more arrangement or more economy than I have hitherto observed. It is painful to think how miserably all my plans have been followed up by execution. I must get myself extricated from the oppression of my numerous debts before I feel myself entitled to expatiate in any kind of splendour or luxury. There is a great deal of serious principle involved in this affair; I hope I shall be able to observe a more serious attention to money matters in future.

"*March 20th.*—A day spent without any intercourse with people abroad. But in every situation there is a call for vigilance: and what a struggle one must maintain to render himself the agreeable inmate of a family. In this respect I have much to accuse myself of; I have little or no indulgence for the infirmities of the aged; and nothing galls me more than to be obliged to repeat the same thing to the deaf or the careless. It is only in the latter case that anger is at all justifiable; and I should recollect, that if the person be old, the habit of carelessness may be beyond the possibility of correction. By far the best way is just to accommodate to it: it is the way of duty and of comfort. Let me ever carry about with me that I am in a scene for the trial and the exercise of principle. This would give an object to the mind: I would feel patient and cheerful acquiescence in the peculiarities of those around me to be my

business; and as in every other business, I would feel pleasure in the successful execution of it. Let it be as much my care to keep down every tendency to irritation when in company, as to keep down every tendency to indolence in solitude. This disposition, in fact, to get out of humour at what is irksome in others, lies at the bottom of that undutiful conduct which makes my parents unhappy with me at Anster; and I fear my aunt not altogether satisfied with her visit to myself. I must try to maintain a vigorous contest with this unfortunate peculiarity of my temper; and I implore the Divine blessing upon my endeavours.

"*March* 21*st.*—Had a large company at dinner, consisting of Messrs. T., M., L., S., J., and S. Felt a good deal distressed at the indelicacy with which Mr. T. proposed to Messrs. J. and S. that they should drive coals for me. This was heightened very much by the circumstance of their being at my table at the time. At the same time I must own that I felt a want of single-heartedness in the business; for though my distress was both real and apparent, yet the very great need I stood in of this piece of civility gave me a leaning to its being done for me. The only two ways to avoid this dilemma of feeling in future are—first, to ask nothing in the way of favour; or second, when I ask a favour, to do it with simplicity, and at a time when there is no exertion of kindness or hospitality on my part.

"*March* 22*d.*—No intercourse with people abroad. Nothing like regular and useful employment for rendering one independent of all foreign amusement, and enabling him to maintain the cheerfulness of his mind through the solitude of whole days.

"*March* 23*d.*—Had a call of Miss —— this forenoon. Her behaviour was marked with incivility; but, while you keep free of all servility of manner on your part, by far the best way is to discover no sense of it, and, above all, to indulge

in no angry invective upon the subject. Mr. —— spent the evening with me. I felt at times a slight degree of impatience at his misapprehensions, and the irrelevancy of his observations. He tells me of the infidelity of the people of Flisk, and, above all, of the dangerous example and conversation of the schoolmaster. This is a business which must not be lost sight of.

"*March 25th.*—I did speak of Miss —— to my sister Jane. Perhaps it would have been better not to have done it. A feeling of bitterness is almost unavoidable; and, besides, there is a dignity in silence, the consciousness of which enables one to maintain a stronger and more decided attitude in your future intercourse than the recollection of any extravagant outcry that you may have indulged in. I find that Miss —— was not so culpable. I have always had a strong tendency to communicate my feelings. This may be indulged with a confidential friend; but there is often a great deal of vanity at the bottom of it. An excellent rule is, to suspect the propriety of every communication where the personal feelings or circumstances of the speaker form part of the subject.

"*March 26th.*—Refused a wandering beggar an alms. It is a good general rule; and if there be any scruple on the score of conscience, let the money you have thus withheld be given to the unquestionable want that exists in your parish or neighbourhood.

"Mr. Bonthron drank tea with us. He tells me of the incursions that people are making upon my glebe. I must check them with calm and temperate determination. It is a most comfortable part of moral regimen, when one can at the same time maintain his peace by schooling down every irritable feeling, and his rights, by being as active and determined in the assertion of them as if under the impulse of resentment. I should entertain Mr. B. with patience and civility. He is tedious, and difficult to converse with; but he is aged, and

though it may be difficult to maintain good humour, I should never forget that it is an exercise of principle. I have another call upon me, on the score of example to Sandy,* who is apt to laugh at his peculiarities.

"*March* 27*th*.—Had Mr. —— to drink tea. Detected myself in a slight tendency to evil-speaking. Got ruffled at Jane for the fretfulness with which she returned my questions about her accounts. I should never laugh in such a way as to irritate the sore. This is often done with the view of transferring the humiliation from yourself to the opposite party. There is a pride and a selfishness in it which are quite unchristian.—While I have to record so many deficiencies, let me feel the humility of the gospel, and an entire submission of mind to its spirit and its authority. Heaven grant that my great object through the day may be the honour and felicity of writing a pure register in the evening.

"*April* 2*d*.—Dined at Mr. Morison's with my father and Mr. Manson. I erred after dinner in telling a story to the prejudice of ——. Erred in the evening, after I got home, by delivering myself up too openly to my feelings of indignation against ——. I must combine temper with exertion upon this subject —abstain as much as possible from all irritation, but be steady and determined.—*Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.* Heavenly Father, encompassed with error I implore Thy forgiveness for the past, and Thy direction for the future. Keep me in the way everlasting; and under the feeling of life being but a pilgrimage, may I neither be too much devoted to its pleasures nor too much oppressed by its anxieties.

"*April* 3*d*.—Had a call from Dr. Ramsay, to whom I spoke with too much contempt of M.'s talents, not that I underrated them, but I should restrain myself from all conversation that borders upon the malicious and the satirical.

* His youngest brother, then living with him.

"*April 9th.*—I this day gave a most melancholy and alarming proof of the imbecility of my purposes: I got into a violent passion with Sandy in the morning; and after I had reasoned myself into a thorough impression of its criminality, repeated the same scene, with high aggravations, in the afternoon. His negligence is undoubted; and I also find from experience that the most effectual method of curing it for the time, is to correct it with the energy of passion. But let me try the experiment of calm determination, and convince him that his heedlessness is not to be indulged, in a steady and unruffled way. A cardinal rule is to abstain from all violence in these cases.—Gracious heaven! look down with pity on the errors of a poor and benighted wanderer. May principle gain its ascendency over him; and in the humility of conscious guilt, may he repair to the consolations of the cross, and to the power and practice of its righteousness.

"*April 10th.* —— arrived with his acquaintance ——. He has a great deal of the conceit and impetuosity of a very young man about him. I must be on my guard. Want of temper would be hurtful to the discipline of my own heart; want of firmness hurtful to him I must offer a testimony against any thing improper, and maintain all that authority which resolution united with firmness can confer.—Father in heaven! teach me what is right, and enable me to adhere to it In all my undertakings enable me to sacrifice myself. Give justice to my conceptions of propriety, and confidence and effect to my execution of them. May I take heed lest I fall; and in every triumph of my vigilance, may I give the glory and the gratitude to that mighty Being who reigns supreme in the heart of man, and gives birth to all his purposes.

"*April 12th.*—Am much better to-day. Feel much indignation at the news of the London disturbances,* but I should

* Created by the arrest of Sir Francis Burdett.

keep my patriotic feelings in subordination to the principles of the gospel, abstain from violence of observation, and let the greatness of eternity moderate the interest which I feel in the affairs of this world.

"*April* 13*th*.—Sandy has fallen ill to-day, and threatens fever. Now is the time for reflecting on the evils of harshness and severity and intemperate passion; sooner or later they land in the bitter fruits of repentance.—Father of heaven! teach me the tutorage of myself. May the gentleness of thy religion shed its influence over me. Teach us the precariousness of all earthly blessings; and in feeling our entire dependence upon Thee, may we become every day more pious, more spiritual, more heavenly.

"*April* 14*th*.—Dined at Mr. Morison's [of Naughton]. A servant was insolent, and my old spirit of indignation was up upon the subject. I should not have come over it again in conversation. I erred after dinner in supporting the cause of the clergy in too decided and ostentatious a manner.

"*April* 16*th*.—Erred egregiously this evening in venting my indignation against Mrs. ——, and before my aunt, too, who esteems her. This is a double fault. Oh, how far short both of the elevation and the charity of Christian principles, to be so much disturbed by the little injuries which are offered to our pride. Grant me humiliation and vigilance; and let it be the ambition of my life to shorten the record of its errors. Sandy continues under fever, and I am all tenderness and anxiety. Let the feeling rise into a principle; and may I ever, in reference to him, act upon a calm and enlightened view of his substantial interests.

"*April* 17*th*.—My aunt left me this day for Dundee. Sandy, I fain think, is better to-day, and I here record my gratitude to heaven, and pray that it may be perpetual.

"*April* 19*th*.—I walked to Kilmany, and viewed the pro-

gress of affairs at the manse and glebe. Sandy is greatly better in his general health, but the pain in his side still distresses me. I should not betray too much anxiety to him.

"*April 20th.*—I have at length resolved to suspend my mathematics till my health be fairly re-established.

"*April 21st.*—Sandy better to-day, and the doctor represents his complaints as trifling. Let my gratitude be indelible.

"*April 22d.*—I find that principle and reflection afford a feeble support against the visitations of melancholy. It is a physical distemper, and must be counteracted by physical means. It is not the direct application of reason that will school it down, any more than it can cure the discomfort of your physical sensations when placed in an overheated room, for example. But it is our duty to apply whatever experience tells us is a corrective against those unpleasant feelings which agitate, and enfeeble, and render unfit for any useful exertion. It is not my duty to feel cool and comfortable when placed in a confined room; but it is my duty to rise and open the window if this can restore me to my wonted capacity of exertion. It is perhaps not my duty to summon up a cheerfulness of mind in the hour of unaccountable despondency, for perhaps this is an affair as completely beyond the control of reason as any other of our physical sensations; but it is my duty to study, and, if possible, to devise expedients for restoring me from this useless and melancholy state. Now, all experience assures me that regular occupation is that expedient; and it is my duty, if I find myself unequal to the severity of my usual exercises, to devise slighter subjects of employment which can be resorted to in the time of necessity. This I esteem to be an important part of moral discipline. Writing a fair copy of any old production which you wish to preserve, setting your books and papers into a state of greater arrangement, writing letters, looking over your accounts, and making slight but interesting

calculations about your future gains and future expenditure,—these, and a number of other subjects of occupation, should occur to be ever ready to offer themselves as correctives to melancholy. Let me cultivate, then, that habit of exertion which will not shrink from a remedy which I find so effectual.

"*April 23d.*—Walked to Kilmany, and gave directions about my gas-tubes. Recurred to my old habit of regular employment. Must guard against every relaxation of moral vigilance. When an hour strikes, let me regularly summon up religion to my thoughts. It may be the means of giving it a more habitual influence.

"*April 26th.*—For these few days past I have enjoyed a calm and pleasurable state of feeling. But let it be remembered, that I have little to plague me. Heaven grant that I may maintain my vigilance—that I may not lull myself into a mistaken security—that I may lay up principle for the hour of trial. 'Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.'

"*Sunday, April 29th.*—Mr. Thomson preached for me. A most brilliant day, and the whole scenery around me full of peacefulness, and full of splendour. Had a charming walk in the evening, and was much occupied with pleasurable sensations. When I compare this day with the Sunday previous, I learn moderation in my joys, and firmness under the visitations of life. Why elated or depressed beyond measure, when the revolution of a few days brings such changes of feeling and temperament along with it.

"Heavenly Father, confirm more and more the ascendency of principle over me.

"*April 30th.*—Called at Mountquhannie, and dined. There were some strangers, and among the rest ——, against whose manner I had wont to conceive a violent antipathy. Am glad to find that this is subsiding, and that I am less under the influence of that anxious vanity, which is one great source of

awkward and difficult manners. While more indifferent to the opinion of others than before, let me never be less indifferent to their feelings, their comfort, their honour, and every other consideration which charity prescribes.

"*May* 1*st.*—Dined this day at Mr. Morison's, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Johnson of Rathillet. After dinner felt a tendency to annex ridicule to absent characters. This unchristian practice must be kept down. The temptation is to make yourself agreeable, but let this principle never be indulged at the expense of duty. Aid me, O gracious Father, in the hour of trial. May this fear be perpetually before me, and may the clear and decisive light of religious principle never abandon my soul to the frailties of its weak and corrupted nature. Must be particularly careful as to the quantity of food and wine that I indulge in. Let me be strong and decided on this subject, and adhere invariably to the rule of never exceeding three glasses of any intoxicating beverage whatever.*

"*May* 2*d.*—Sandy complains of the recurrence of pain in his breast, and I am all anxiety. Heaven lend an indulgent ear to the prayer of affection!

"*May* 3*d.*—Went to Kilmany, where I overhauled the paling, and kept by my purpose of having it done up in a better style, in spite of the tradesmen's opposition. On my return found Mr. Adamson, who dined with me.

"*May* 6*th.*—I preached this Sunday, after a retirement of thirty-one weeks from all public duty, and have not felt myself the worse of it. I had to make an effort in the way of keeping myself from being overpowered. Gracious God! reveal to me the importance and extent of my duties, and may the glory and interest of religion be all my exertion and all my joy.

* "He was cheerful, but very temperate; and when at a dinner party, while they were drinking, he amused himself, he told me, by contemplating the vivacity and variety of the faces of those who were present."—MS. memoranda of this period by Rev. Mr. Smith.

"William Vertue joined me in the village after sermon, and proceeded with me to Fincraigs, where he dined and drank tea. I was on the point of doing a most improper thing, viz., settle my account with him; but happily checked myself. This might have had the worst effect upon a young mind in point of example, and have given a general shock to his religious principles. Let me study to maintain the gravity of the ministerial character, and at the same time hold out an endearing view of religion, by a manner cheerful and friendly and affectionate.

"Mr. S. called and spent the evening. Upon the whole, my feelings this evening are pious and pleasurable.

"*May 8th.*—Went off in a chaise this morning to Cupar, where I joined the Presbytery, to the proceedings of which I mean to be more attentive in future. Dined with the brethren. I must attempt to school down vain-glory, irritability, and every thing that is envious or malignant. I must not be too much elated with attentions, and far less depressed than ever by neglect or displeasure. Let my chief ambition be to please God, to maintain that life that is hid with Him in Christ, and to secure a quiet, virtuous passage through this the country of my pilgrimage.

"*May 9th.*—Called at the Bank, and suspect Mr. —— to be rather out of humour at the tardiness of my payments. I must make the most strenuous efforts to reduce my accounts in that quarter. I feel acutely the humiliation of debt, and must struggle to extricate myself; at the same time, should not feel so sorely the displeasure of man. If my grand principle was to please God rather than man, it would be a far better security for doing what was just, and at the same time alleviate all that misery which I am so apt to feel when another betrays offence or resentment against me. Upon examination, I believe that vanity lies at the bottom of this exquisite susceptibility to the displeasure of an acquaintance. It is only

when the displeasure is expressed in such a way as to imply disrespect, that I feel it so exquisitely. In the mean time, let it be my great aim to emancipate myself from the galling dependence of pecuniary embarrassments.

"*May* 10*th*.—In my conversations with the clergy, there are two points of jealousy to which I must direct all the vigilance of moral and religious principle:—1. Guard against that vanity which courts a compliment, or is fed by it. 2. Guard against that laxity of sentiment which appears under the disguise of moderation, and if indulged, might land you in a total indifference to every thing serious.

"*May* 11*th*.—Left Fincraigs in a chaise for St. Andrews. Reached Anster at night. Found Lucy in an alarming way. She goes to Dunkeld with Mr. and Mrs. Carstairs.*

"*Sunday*, *May* 13*th*.—Attended church here, and heard Mr. Wilson. I must regard attention and reverence there as a solemn and important part of religious discipline. Retired to my room for two hours betwixt tea and supper, and tasted the delights of piety. While I am here, let me read some portion of divinity to my father every Sunday evening.

"Sandy has made no progress this day; and poor Lucy's illness, I fear, will prove fatal.

"Gracious Father, establish my heart with the duties and the comforts of religion; and in this interval of suspense and imperfect health, may the wholesome principles of Christianity gain an habitual and confirmed authority over my temper, and feelings, and behaviour.

"*May* 15*th*.—Settled matters with Mr. Ballardie's legatees, and have to record, for my encouragement and direction in all future cases, that a steady unyielding determination to carry through what is your right and your justice is far less formidable in the act than in the anticipation.

* The Rev. Mr. Carstairs was minister of West Anstruther.

"*May* 16*th.*—There is one thing for which I implore the assistance of Heaven. I feel movements of impatience with my kind and venerable father. Oh, let my manner to him be calculated to soothe him, and render him happy. I am now getting embroiled with business and company. Father in heaven! be my guide and my guardian; and in the whole of my conduct may I evince the power and the excellence of Christian principle. I told a story in which the ludicrous was blended with religion. Let this on all occasions be avoided.

"*May* 18*th.*—Rode to St. Andrews with Lucy. Made a good many calls there, and feel a growing indifference to University preferment. This I regret not.

"*May* 19*th.*—Walked to Pittenweem, and got the sederunt-book on Dr. Reid's affairs. Mean to examine it very particularly, and to maintain an inflexible purpose of doing justice to the concern in spite of all the delicacies and obstructions.

"*May* 22*d.*—Had a most irksome and fatiguing business with my father in settling the accounts of Mr. Ballardie's trust this forenoon. I thank Heaven for the degree of patience with which I supported it, though at the same time it was far short of that perfection which I never should lose sight of, and which it should be the constant aim of my life to aspire after. May the Father of all Mercies enlighten me with His Spirit, and settle in my bosom the perpetual sunshine of faith and a good conscience.

"*May* 25*th.*—I am alarmed at the small and uncertain progress of religious principle in my mind. O God! may the power of Thy Son's atonement be to me the effectual instrument both of comfort and of righteousness.

"*May* 27*th.*—Heard Mr. Stewart from Kingsbarns. I still feel a great shortcoming from that reverence and constant attention which should ever accompany me into the house of God.—O Lord, may this fear be perpetually upon me. Read to my

father, and found, in the sense of having accomplished a duty, a restoration to cheerfulness and complacency. Spent some hours alone in my apartment, and have to bless God for the holy peacefulness which I often feel in the sweetness and solitude of a Sabbath evening.

"*May 28th.*—Walked with Mr. Duncan of Kilrenny. Miss Anne Taylor and Miss Wilson drank tea with us. Supped in Mr. Willis' with a small party. In the engagements of the world, let me never lose sight of its vanity; let eternity be ever present to my feelings, and may I walk through the journey of life with my eye fixed on its end. Called on Mr. Johnston of Rennyhill this afternoon. I drank tea with Mr. Duncan. Had a conversation with my father on religious matters, and must study to impress him with the idea of my soundness and sincerity, of which he is rather sceptical.

"*Sunday, June 3d.*—Preached in the afternoon at Carnbee.

"*June 4th.*—Walked from Carnbee to Anster. Drank the King's health with the town's people, and on occasion gave way to levity of conversation. Supped in Dr. Goodsir's. In all the bustle of this world's variety, may I never forget communion with God and with my own conscience; may I carry in my mind a perpetual reference to religion; may I maintain vigilance, and humility, and self-denial; may every day witness my rising progress in the virtues and accomplishments of the Gospel; and may principle maintain its vigour and its ascendency over me. For these purposes, I invoke the aid of that blessed Spirit, to whom I ascribe all power and all righteousness.

"*June 5th.*—Poor —— in an alarming state this forenoon. My father's interference was in the highest degree tender and overpowering. I feel all the heaviness of this dispensation, and implore the kindness of all-good Providence to alleviate and avert it. O God, may all this send home to our feelings the vanity of time; and may the prayers of a broken spirit,

for consolation and acceptance, find grace in Thy sight. Pardon my sins, and guide me by Thy blessed Spirit to comfort and hope, and improvement in righteousness.

"*June 6th.* — — a good deal better this day; yet I felt myself so enfeebled by the weight of anxiety about her, as to be incapable of going through my regular exercises. The virtue of sufferance a highly necessary accomplishment in this world of affliction. Though I feel a reluctance to effort, yet it is better that I should make the attempt.

"*June 7th.*—Rode in a gig to Crail, Fifeness, and Kingsbarns. Dined with Mr. Bell, and enjoyed all the luxury of feeling which is inspired by the view of a respectable man at the head of an interesting family.

"*June 8th.*—Let me raise my apprehensions to the grandeur of eternity, and keep aloof from the vortex of earthly passion, and the vanities of an instant.

"*June 9th.*—From the fatigues of yesterday I was unable to go through my usual exercise of composition this forenoon.

"*Sunday, June 10th.*—Heard Mr. Wilson. I this evening finished the poem of Paradise Lost.

"*June 16th.*—In this excursion I learn the unformed and inefficient state of my religious principles, and in the quietness of retirement I pray for more vigilance, more anxiety about my great and essential interest, more constant and habitual recurrence of my attention to the grand concerns of eternity, more indifference to the objects of time, and more steady and determined resistance to the danger of its temptations. O God, accept my humility, my remorse, my sincere faith in the atonement of the Gospel, and my anxious supplication that, in my progress through the world, I may evince the power and the excellence of religious principle.

"*Sunday, June 17th.*—This a most important but discouraging day. * * * In place of that piety which the Sabbath even-

ing generally brought along with it, I feel a total estrangement of mind from God, and a dread of approaching the offended purity of His nature.

"*Monday, June* 18*th*.—This morning rose in great disquietude, and with a total incapacity for exertion. * * * Let me feel the littleness of the world's opinion. Let my sole aim be the greatness, and elevation, and purity of gospel principles. Let me possess my spirit in patience, and, by a determined recurrence to useful and regular employment, let me evidence the power and magnanimity of religion. This I write in the middle of the day. I pray God that I may have to report the success of my resolution in the evening. I am in His hands; I implore the assistance of His Spirit; and to Him I ascribe all the glory and all the triumph. * * * Must trust to time and repose for the restoration of my peace. Am still in great disquietude. Let my motto be—'Faint, yet pursuing.' If, after this day, I soon write a register of a bright complexion, let me never despair afterwards under any visitation of the world's calamity. O God, shine on me with Thy grace; pity and console me.

"*June* 19*th*.—Still incapable of employment, though the turbulence of my feeling begins to subside. Have determined to return to Fincraigs. Find for these few days a grievous relapse from the steadiness of principle.—O God, give me the spirit of prayer and the spirit of watching. Work in me to will and to do. Recall me to the delights of piety; and, both in the conception of every good purpose, and in the successful execution of it, may I give Thy blessed Spirit all the praise and all the glory.

"*June* 20*th*.—I have to thank God that I am getting on in a capacity for exertion, though I have not yet recovered perfect tone and vigour of mind. O God, give me the tranquillity of a mind raised above the pettiness of this world's distractions: accept of my sincere gratitude for the measure of comfort

which Thou hast given me, and restore me to the vigilance which is so necessary in this state of warfare and temptation.

"*June* 21*st.*—Coming on in exertion. Upon the whole, have to thank God for restoring me to a firmer nerve of principle, and a better tone of pleasurable feeling than I have experienced for some days past.

"*June* 30*th.*—Left Anster this morning on horseback. Spent a pious and pleasurable evening at Kinneir, and tasted the comforts of prayer and devotion.—O God, be with me to sustain me in this excursion into a tempting and deceitful world.

"*July* 3*d.*—Lucy returned from Dunkeld.*

"*July* 6*th.*—I am sensible that I do not feel the same trembling anxiety on the subject of moral discipline that I did at the outset of this Journal; but let me not relax the vigilance of my efforts. Oh, what a small share principle has upon our hourly and familiar movements!

"*July* 8*th.*—Preached twice to-day.—O God, may I love Thy Sabbaths, and cultivate the peace and piety of Thy gospel.

"*July* 11*th.*—The rain disappointed me, and confined me to the house; but a cheerful and immediate recurrence to useful employment is a noble exercise of independence upon accident. Decision and propriety in the smaller movements of life is a great constituent of comfort. I am thankful to God for the coolness and sobriety of my feelings during these few days. Exercise and severe study have a composing effect upon the character; and let this be the way in which the redundant energy of my temperament is expended.

* Lucy had gone to Dunkeld for change of air, and on her return remained for two months at Fincraigs. Wishing to persuade his friend, Mr. Carstairs, who had kindly escorted his sister both to and from Dunkeld, to come and join them at Fincraigs, Mr. Chalmers writes :—" Besides, and I plume myself upon this as my most important argument, what think you of the privilege of riding upon an ass? Lucy mounts it daily, the young colt follows, Jane leads, and I ca' up the rear, and close the procession."

"*July* 12*th.*—I should maintain a scrupulous and guarded silence whenever I feel inclined to expatiate to another's prejudice or another's ridicule. I am not sufficiently attentive in this respect. Oh, the slender influence of religion on the great mass of my conduct! Let me associate religion with the sound of every hour; and I pray that this may be a help to its gaining an habitual influence over my practice and sentiments.

"*July* 18*th.*—Went to Dundee.

"*July* 19*th.*—Called on James Anderson and Miss Scott this forenoon. Walked with Messrs. Craik, Miller, and Duncan. Was pleased with Dr. H. Scott, and feel how much an earnest devotion of mind to a great object raises you above every petty embarrassment. Religion is such an object, and a sickly anxiety about manner in the presence of strangers I would call a petty embarrassment; but while indifferent to the gratification of my own vanity, let me never be indifferent to the rights and feelings of others. Crossed, after tea, in the same boat with Dr. M'Dowal and Miss Saunders. Obtruded my botany too much upon them.

"*July* 21*st.*—Went before breakfast to Kilmany, to consult with Major Horsburgh about certain alterations on the church. Had a delightful reverie from a hill in the neighbourhood. Mr. Bonthron at tea in the evening.

"*July* 23*d.*—Find Kilmany in one point of view to be a fitter theatre of moral discipline than Anster—that I meet with fewer temptations to dereliction of principle, and this is certainly to be preferred in the infancy of your religious course. —O God, save me from falling. Set me in a sure place, and grant me in Thy good time the joys of the Christian faith and the diligence of the Christian practice. May I not think that the record of my faults is any atonement for them; but in the strength of the Christian faith, may I be vigilant and determined.

"*July 24th.*—In company with the Misses F., N., and T., had no colloquial firmness, and felt all the awkwardness of my boyish days. To escape bashfulness, I put on a flurried rapidity of manner which is apt to overstep propriety. Should maintain more composure, and not give way so much in mixed company to the idea of the inability to support myself.—O God, accept my gratitude for Thy mercies, and my earnest prayers for the increase and continuance of Thy gracious Spirit.

"*July 25th.*—Preached twice to a numerous and attentive audience. Read a great deal of divinity in the evening, and thank God for the blessed influence of a holy and peaceful Sabbath.—Gracious Father, give efficacy to my good purposes; and may the sense of Thy presence and Thy authority never abandon my heart.

"*August 4th.*—Misses F. and H. arrived at Fincraigs. I am happy that I overcame the unmanly delicacy which would have influenced me in other days: I read a sermon to the young ladies, and had prayers in the evening. I must not be deceived by the amount of pure and pleasurable feeling which I have experienced for some days: let me lay in principle for the day of trial, and let my happiness be of that kind which maintains itself when unsupported by external objects.

"*August 19th.*—Preached twice to-day, and must study to make myself impressive and interesting to the bulk of my hearers. At the same time, I should keep up my habits of composition, and if possible gain some to righteousness by an occasional sermon addressed to people of literary taste and cultivation.

"*August 21st.*—Have conceived the idea of abandoning severe mathematics, and expending my strength upon theological studies. Eminence in two departments is scarcely attainable. Let me give my main efforts to religion, and fill up my evenings with miscellaneous literature. The sacrifice is painful,

but I must not harass and enfeeble my mind with too much anxiety; and let me leave myself entire for all those discussions which are connected with the defence of Christianity, the exposition of its views, and the maintenance of its interests, as affected by the politics or philosophy of the times. The business of our Courts and the dignity of our Establishment will of course afford a most animating subject for the joint exercise of speculation and activity.—O my God, prosper me in all my laudable undertakings, and let Thy glory and the good of mankind be the uttermost concern of my heart. Political economy touches upon religious establishments, and a successful or original speculation in this department may throw an *éclat* over my ecclesiastical labours.

"*August 26th.*—Preached as usual; the people, I thought, were attentive and impressed, particularly in the forenoon.—I thank God for being enabled to maintain the regulation of myself, and for the holy Sabbath of peace and improvement which His goodness has allowed me.

"*August 27th.*—Dined this day with my venerable friend Dr. G. Was shocked at the total loss of recollection and judgment evinced by ——. Went to Flisk in the afternoon, when I drank tea with Mr. and the Misses Morton. Was perhaps wrong in speaking of ——'s failures of memory in such a way as to excite laughter, and I should shun the vanity of saying odd and ludicrous things.

"*September 3d.*— * * * A trying subject for the exercise of patience and heroism. Let me feel the importance, nay, even grandeur of the contest with myself.—O God, may I never forget Thee; may I never lose sight of eternity, or suffer the anxieties of a petty and perishable world to withdraw me from the duties and the contemplations of religion.

"*September 6th.*—Regaining my tranquillity by degrees. Constant employment.—O God, I thank Thee for the blessings

Thou scatterest along the path of life. Grant me to taste the comforts of religion, and to feel the power of its principles. Have resumed, in a moderate degree, my mathematical reading. Have to thank God for supplying me with such abundant resources of study and amusement, the grand materials of independence. Father of heaven! may Thy good Spirit never abandon me: guard my wandering mind against every relaxation of vigilance.

"*September 8th.*—Walked to Moonzie. At dinner we had Mr. Fleming,* presentee to Flisk,—accomplished in some interesting branches of science, and promises to be a great acquisition to me, from the congeniality of some of our pursuits. Let me never forget the pre-eminence of religion.

"*Sunday, September 9th.*—Preached twice, as usual. Had a pleasant scientific conversation with Mr. Fleming all evening; find him a valuable accession in this point of view, but I must keep up with him a tone of seriousness upon religious subjects. Have to thank God for giving me courage to go through the exercise of family worship.

"*September 11th.*—Had a long walk with Mr. Fleming, and am happy to find that he expresses a high sense of duty on the subject of the clerical office. Lucy left Fincraigs this afternoon.

"*September 12th.*—Erred in speaking unfavourably of Mr. S.; and though zeal for what I conceive the humility of evangelical views entered into my criticism, this only disguises the fault, without justifying it. Read a good deal of mathematics.

"*September 20th.*—Mr. Duncan tells me that Jeffrey, the reviewer, had been speaking highly of my talents, but let me carry a becoming indifference to the praise of men.

"*September 30th.*—Preached as usual, and found the people

* Now Dr. Fleming, Professor of Natural Science in the New College, Edinburgh: for another reference to whom, see Posthumous Works, vol. ix. pp. 477, 478.

particularly attentive in the forenoon. Let me give my strength to the grand business of being useful in my profession.

"*October 2d.*—Had a most agreeable note from Dr. Charters, accompanied with a present of books, and expressing his entire satisfaction with my review of his sermons.

"*October 6th.*—I had been employing myself in drawing a ludicrous exposition of the conduct of the St. Andrews Presbytery, (in Principal Playfair's case,) when in comes Mr. Melvil, who had been dining with a party of clergymen, and reported their general determination to support Playfair. This produced a delirium of joy, which threw me off my guard, and I gave way to the fulness of my emotions. I should not have spoken so virulently of ——; at the same time, it will be of the utmost importance to get him down from his influence in the Church.—And I pray God that He would give me grace to employ all my endeavours towards the interest of His religion and the aggrandizement of His name.

"*October 12th.*—Upon a general review of the last five or six days, I collect a few points which it may be useful to register. Let me pay a great deal more attention to the details of Church business. Let me respect my elders; but seeing, as I do, upon what trifling grounds a measure may be suggested and generally concurred in, let me maintain all the obstinacy of principle, and by a manner removed from everything like impetuosity, or conceit, or contemptuousness, let me try to gain effectual influence over the hearts of my brethren. I have less of the vanity of display, but I have still a strong remainder of the worldly principle. I behoved to have spoken at the Synod, because a speech was delivered adverse to my cause, and the nod and imploring eye of Dr. Playfair were of themselves sufficient to decide me. But let me never comment upon one's appearance afterwards, let me never fish for compliments, or try in a disguised manner to turn the conversation to the subject.

Previous to my appearance I was engrossed with anxiety. This is not heavenly: it is vain even upon worldly principles. It takes so much time from happiness, and it is not justified by the event, which in all cases is greatly less formidable than the anticipation. But the most serious part of it is, that it argues an occupation of the mind with what may be called trifles when compared with the great subjects of human interest and anxiety—the favour of God, the moral discipline of the heart, the faith of the gospel, the promises of immortality. In this interval of time I have not been regular in my devotions, and not guarded in my conversation. O God, may I repair with delight to Thy service, and may I employ this short interval of retirement from the world in giving new vigour to my principles and more effect to the lessons of Thy word. Oh, thou Father of mercies, to whom no humble and sincere worshipper addresses himself in vain, uphold me by Thy good Spirit; make me heavenly-minded. May I walk by faith, and not by sight; and in the contemplations of eternity may I bury the vanity and the delusions of time.

"*October 26th.*—Crossed to Leith, walked to Edinburgh, and dined in Mr. Cowan's.

"*October 28th.*—Heard sermon in the forenoon at New Greyfriars, and was much pleased with the manly and vigorous orthodoxy of Mr. Andrew Thomson.

"*October 29th.*—Took the Carlisle Diligence for Hawick, and landed at Wilton in the evening, where I repose in the bosom of a pious and cultivated family.

"*October 30th.*—Called at Mr. Arkle's, Thomas Kedie's, and the dear and interesting Ushers of Courthill.

"*November 1st.*—Was spoken to by Dr. Charters about my publication on National Resources not having taken, and of his certainty that my review would not be admitted into the Edinburgh. May I feel the salutary lesson of indifference to

the praise of man, and may all my anxiety be directed to the praise of God and the interests of eternity. I disguised some things relative to the fate of my publication; and the only way in which I could pacify my conscience was by again bringing them forward. May I wrap myself in the armour of principle.

"*November 6th.*—Left Wilton this morning in the Hawick stage, and got to Valleyfield (Pennycook) about six in the evening.

"*November 7th.*—Walked with Mrs. J. and her daughter to Sir George Clerk's. The former is unitarian in her principles; the latter is under doubt and anxiety. Let me maintain the high tone of principle, if consulted upon this subject. I was consulted, and said, that we perhaps might read the Bible with honesty, and not be convinced of the absolute divinity of our Saviour. I stood up, however, for His high pre-eminence, for unqualified submission to the authority of Scripture, and for the clear, undeniable revelation of an atoning sacrifice.

"*November 23d.*—Rode from St. Andrews to Cupar, and in the Union coach to Kilmany, when I entered my new manse for the first time. This may be considered as an epoch in the history of my life; and I pray heaven that from this epoch I may date new vigour to my principles, greater consistency in my conduct, more effort and more determination in my purposes of obedience.

"*Sunday, December 9th.*—This the day of my sacrament. Mr. Blair and others from Naughton heard me. I felt the restraint of their criticising tendencies; but let me maintain charity. In my pulpit exhibitions I am perhaps too anxious to communicate a full impression of what I say, and give an ardour and a rapidity to my utterance which defeats the purpose. I should confide a little more in the sympathy and intelligence of my hearers; and by a more distinct, and at the same time less fatiguing manner of enunciation, I both save

myself, and probably come nearer to the object of my anxiety. O God, may every approach to Thee leave improvement and growth in grace behind it.

"*December* 12*th.*—Confined to the house all day by snow and sleet. Spent the whole of it in subduing my confused books into arrangement.

"*December* 18*th.*—Walked this forenoon from Cupar to Anster. Refused Mr. Pearson's kind offer of a horse; and am happy to think that the expense of maintaining him was my chief reason. Let me make sacrifices to the grand object of economy, and feel how respectable an object it is, as it will be the means of releasing me from embarrassment, and preparing me for the freer exercise of justice and humanity. Reached Anster by four in the afternoon, and found Lucy fast hastening to her grave.

"*December* 22*d.*—Left Anstruther this morning in a chaise. Took what, in all probability, will be my final adieu of Lucy on this side of time. She was in great agony, and speechless. My aunt was holding her head; and the expression of her countenance, which spoke the strong conflict within her, has haunted me all day, and at this moment overpowers me with tenderness.*—O God, may I feel the importance of religion, and may I cherish and keep alive the salutary impressions of this affecting scene. O God, may I prize Thy religion as the only sure defence against the griefs and the dangers of this earthly pilgrimage.

"*December* 23*d.*—Went up to Logie and preached at the kirking of Mr. and Mrs. Melvil. At the first prayer Patrick made his appearance, from which I inferred Lucy's death.

* "Lucy died yesterday morning at five o'clock. It has long been looked for, and the family are bearing it with as much composure as can be expected. My father is almost blind. This decay in his sight came on pretty gradually at first, and has now arrived to such a degree that he can neither write, read, nor recognise any of the family."—Letter from Mr. Chalmers, of date 24th December 1810.

"*December 24th.*—Went off in a chaise this morning, and reached Anster after four. Have begun to read Wilberforce, and hope to be much the better of it.

"*December 25th.*—Spent this day in my room, and with my relations. I am making head against the soreness of my temperament to what is irksome, though still far and very far from perfection.—O God, may I feel the authority of Thy law.—I am delighted with Wilberforce.

"*December 31st.*—Walked to Pittenweem with Misses Hall and Nairne. Returned and dined with Mr. Henderson. * * * I pray God that I may contract no taint from my intercourse with the world. As years roll away may I gather wisdom, and learn that it is not on this side of time that my home and my inheritance lie."

That effort after a pure and heavenly morality which Mr. Chalmers had so long and so unfalteringly sustained, was now on the eve of a change, which was not only to alter, but to reverse in their relative positions its starting-post and its goal. All the natural elements at work throughout this struggle were elements of signal power. A vigorous and enlightened intelligence—a conscience strong but very tender—most delicately susceptible, yet devoid of all narrowness and weakness—a will of almost inflexible determination, become now a yielding servant to the high sense of duty,—these all exerting themselves under the profound impression, that God's eye was ever on them as they toiled, and that everlasting interests hung suspended on the issue, present to us such a full and attractive exhibition of mere natural character as might have invited analysis, or fixed for a season the eye of our admiration. But all lesser interest connected with this period loses itself in the light and meaning thrown upon it by its close. As the year expired, and for his evening readings

at Anstruther while he remained there after his sister's death, Mr. Chalmers took up Wilberforce's "Practical View"—a work specially intended to expose the inadequate conceptions regarding the leading and peculiar doctrines of Christianity which characterized the religious system prevailing among professed Christians. "We are loudly called on," said Mr. Wilberforce, "to *examine well our foundations.* If any thing be there unsound and hollow, the superstructure could not be safe though its exterior were less suspicious. Let the question, then, be asked, and let the answer be returned with all the consideration and solemnity which a question so important may justly demand, Whether in the grand concern of all—*the means of a sinner's acceptance with God,* there be not reason to apprehend that nominal Christians too generally entertain very superficial and confused, if not highly dangerous notions?"—(p. 101.) The summons came from one whose character was otherwise so enthusiastically admired, and it was so wisely and so winningly given, that it would have been listened to even had Mr. Chalmers not been subject at the time to that restless dissatisfaction with the fruits of all his own former efforts, which made him at this conjuncture peculiarly open to instruction. As in this favourable spirit he read this volume, he found his own individual case thus accurately delineated, and thus wisely prescribed for:—"There are, it is to be apprehended, not a few who, having thought little or scarcely at all about religion, have become at length, in some degree, impressed with a sense of the infinite importance of religion. A fit of sickness, perhaps, or the loss of some friend or much loved relative, or some other stroke of adverse fortune, damps their spirits, awakens them to a practical conviction of the precariousness of all human things, and turns them to seek for some more stable foundation of happiness than this world can afford. Looking into themselves ever so little, they become sensible that they must

have offended God. They resolve accordingly to set about the work of reformation. * * * Again and again they resolve; again and again they break their resolutions. All their endeavours are foiled, and they become more and more convinced of their own moral weakness and of the strength of their inherent corruption. These men are pursuing the right object, but they mistake the path in which it is to be obtained. *The path in which they are now treading is not that which the gospel has provided for conducting them to true holiness, nor will they find in it any solid peace.* * * * The Holy Scriptures call upon those who are in the circumstances now stated to *lay afresh the whole foundation of their religion.** The nature of that holiness which the true Christian seeks to possess is no other than the restoration of the image of God to his soul; and as to the manner of acquiring it, disclaiming with indignation every idea of attaining it by his own strength, he rests altogether on the operation of God's Holy Spirit, which is promised to all who cordially embrace the gospel. He knows therefore that this holiness is not to PRECEDE his reconciliation with God and be its cause, but to follow it and be its effect; that, in short, it is by faith in Christ only that he is to be justified in the sight of God."—(Pp. 271-276, 11th edition.) The result of the perusal of the whole volume is best told by Mr. Chalmers himself in two letters, of a later date, addressed to his brother Alexander.†

"*February* 14, 1820.

"MY DEAR ALEXANDER,—I stated to you that the effect of a very long confinement, about ten years ago, upon myself, was to inspire me with a set of very strenuous resolutions, under which I wrote a Journal, and made many a laborious effort to elevate my practice to the standard of the Divine re-

* The *Italics* in all the passages quoted above are Mr. Wilberforce's.

† The Sandy of the preceding Journal.

quirements. During this course, however, I got little satisfaction, and felt no repose. I remember that somewhere about the year 1811, I had Wilberforce's View put into my hands, and, as I got on in reading it, felt myself on the eve of a great revolution in all my opinions about Christianity. I am now most thoroughly of opinion, and it is an opinion founded on experience, that on the system of—Do this and live, no peace, and even no true and worthy obedience, can ever be attained. It is, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved. When this belief enters the heart, joy and confidence enter along with it. The righteousness which we try to work out for ourselves eludes our impotent grasp, and never can a soul arrive at true or permanent rest in the pursuit of this object. The righteousness which, by faith, we put on, secures our acceptance with God, and secures our interest in His promises, and gives us a part in those sanctifying influences by which we are enabled to do with aid from on high what we never can do without it. We look to God in a new light—we see Him as a reconciled Father; that love to Him which terror scares away re-enters the heart, and, with a new principle and a new power, we become new creatures in Jesus Christ our Lord."

"ST ANDREWS, *June* 9, 1825

"MY DEAR ALEXANDER,—When I meet with an inquirer, (and I have met with many such,) who, under the impulse of a new feeling, has set himself in good earnest to the business of his eternity, I have been very much in the habit of recommending Wilberforce. This perhaps is owing to the circumstance, that I myself, now about fifteen years ago, experienced a very great transition of sentiment in consequence of reading his work. The deep views he gives of the depravity of our nature, of our need of an atonement, of the great doctrine of acceptance through that atonement, of the sanctifying in-

fluences of the Spirit,—these all give a new aspect to a man's religion ; and I am sure that, in as far as they are really and honestly proceeded upon, they will give a new direction to his habits and his history. But there are other books which might be as effectually instrumental in working the desirable change ; and, in defect of them all, there is the Bible, whose doctrines I well remember I then saw in an altogether new light, and could feel a power and a preciousness in passages which I formerly read with heedlessness, and even with disgust. I do think that, without disparagement to human authorship, which, in many instances is in the highest degree helpful to the inquirer, still the main road to light and comfort, and a solid establishment in the way that leadeth to life everlasting, is the reading of the Scriptures, with prayer."

The critical condition of the reader lent power to Mr Wilberforce's volume. A prolonged but abortive effort had prepared Mr. Chalmers to welcome the truth of a gratuitous justification before God through the merits of Christ. For upwards of a year he had striven with all his might to meet the high requirements of the Divine law ; but that law rose in its demands as he rose in his endeavours, and, continuing our narrative here in his own descriptive words, "it still kept ahead of him with a kind of overmatching superiority to all his efforts. His attempt to scale the heights of perfection, to quell the remonstrances of a challenging and not yet appeased commandment, was like the laborious ascent of him who, having so wasted his strength that he can do no more, finds that some precipice still remains to be overcome, some mountain-brow that scorns his enterprise and threatens to overwhelm him." He struggled hard to recover his immeasurable distance from that high and heavenly morality which the law required, and, after all, he found himself "a helpless defaulter from the

first and greatest of its commandments." He repaired to the atonement to eke out his deficiencies, and as the ground of assurance that God would look upon him with a propitious eye; but, notwithstanding, an unappeasable disquietude hung heavy upon his heart, and "he walked among the elements of uncertainty and distrust," till at last he came to see that the Saviour had already and completely done for him what, with so much strenuousness, but with so little success, he had been striving to do for himself. The felt insecurities of his position he had been in vain endeavouring to strengthen, by mixing up the merits of Christ with the sincerity of his repentance, and the painstaking of his obedience, to form together the ingredients of his hope and security before God. But the conviction was now wrought in him that he had been attempting an impossibility; that he had been trying to compound elements which would not amalgamate; that it must be either on his own merits wholly, or on Christ's merits wholly that he must lean; and that, by introducing to any extent his own righteousness into the ground of his meritorious acceptance with God, "he had been inserting a flaw, he had been importing a falsehood into the very principle of his justification." In the Journal of the following Chapter, we shall see him stepping from the treacherous ground of—Do and live, to place his feet upon the firm foundation of—"Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."

But I cannot close this Chapter without alluding to the comparison naturally suggested between the spiritual struggle which it records, and that through which, at a like period of their lives, Ignatius Loyola and Martin Luther passed. Loyola's great effort was to tread the world beneath his feet, and to rise into a mystic region of rapt idealism, where high spiritual intercourse with the unseen world might be enjoyed. The main stress of his struggle was to mortify the desires of

the flesh and of the mind—to spiritualize the carnal nature. Luther's great effort, prompted by an urgent sense of guilt, was to reconcile himself to an offended Deity; and the main stress of his struggle was to bring into a state of right adjustment his personal and immediate relationship with God. Dr. Chalmers' great effort was to prepare for an eternity felt to be at hand, by discharging aright the duties of time; and the main stress of his struggle was to bring his dispositions and conduct towards all around him up to the requirements of the Divine law. Loyola busied himself mainly with fastening aright the ties, and sustaining the communion, which bound him to the spiritual world, as that world was conceived of and believed in. Luther busied himself mainly with his legal standing before the High Judge of all the earth, and was still trying over and over again the question of his acceptance or his condemnation before the bar of eternal justice. Dr. Chalmers busied himself mainly with the state of his affections and behaviour towards his fellow-men, with all of whom he tried to be on terms of perfect and cordial amity ere he passed into eternity. The devotional element predominated with the first, the legal with the second, the moral and social with the third. Out of his severe and prolonged struggle, Loyola found his exit by casting himself into the bosom of his Church, and giving himself up to the devotions which she prescribed, and the services which she demanded. Out of their struggle, Luther and Dr. Chalmers alike found their exit by casting themselves into the bosom of their Saviour, and giving themselves up to all the duties of life, spiritual and social, as those who had been freely and fully reconciled unto God through Jesus Christ their Lord.

CHAPTER IX.

GAS-TUBES—GARDEN BEDS—HOSPITALITY OF THE MANSE—SUPREMACY OF THE IMAGINATION OVER THE SENSES—PREPARATIONS FOR THE ARTICLE CHRISTIANITY—CORRESPONDENCE WITH DR. ANDREW THOMSON—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTOR—JOURNAL OF 1811.

It was fortunate that during the summers of 1810 and 1811, when so much lost bodily vigour was to be regained, and the hurtful effects of so much mental agitation was to be counteracted, that there were those healthful walks from Fincraigs to Kilmany to view the "progress of affairs," and afterwards, when the manse was occupied, those forenoons devoted to planting trees, and measuring grass-plots, and laying down garden walks. Over one of the preceding entries in the Journal the reader has perhaps paused a moment,—"Walked to Kilmany, and gave directions about my gas-tubes." The conviction which he felt when he heard the London lecturer,* he had now carried so far as to believe that in a very few years all private dwellings would be lighted by gas, and by now laying these tubes through the manse, he would have it all ready for the new epoch when it arrived. Should the anticipated epoch ever come, these tubes may be there to testify to the prophetic sagacity of Mr. Chalmers; and whether it come or not, they not only tell us of his own strong scientific faith, but of the persuasive energy which he had exerted over his heritors, affording, as he himself might have described it, visible and emphatic demonstration how thoroughly he had inspired them with confidence in his chemistry. It was not

* See Journal, p. 115.

only on the interior of the manse that the original genius of its first occupant displayed itself. In laying out the garden he found room for his mathematics as well as his botany; for while the plants and flowers were all arranged in scientific order, every plot and bed was of a regularly constructed geometric figure—the conic sections being all accurately laid down—so that on either side of the circle or ellipse, a parabolic or hyperbolic bed flourished conspicuous with its allotted genera and species.

The hospitality of Kilmany manse was unbounded. It is always a matter worthy of special record in the Journal when Mr Chalmers spends a whole day alone. The morning's reading and forenoon's severe composition over, if he found not society within doors, he either went abroad to seek it, or imported it from without His favourite resort for relaxation was Dundee, where many agreeable families were always ready to welcome him, and, above all, where he had his old college friend, Mr. Duncan,* around whose gentle benevolence his own livelier and more imaginative affection loved to disport itself. Nor were ingenious devices wanting; pleasantly diversifying their intercourse. It was about this time that coffee began to be generally introduced. Instead of adopting the new beverage, Mr. Chalmers invented one of his own—an infusion of burnt rye—which he not only used constantly himself, but urged upon all his guests, strenuously affirming its equality with the best Mocha coffee. Upon one occasion, at Kilmany, Mr. Duncan, who had no great relish for his friend's beverage, so stoutly denied this position, that Mr. Chalmers declared that the next time he came to Dundee, he would subject the matter, in Mr. Duncan's own presence, to an *experimentum crucis*, and triumphantly vindicate his own invention. The time for the experiment soon arrived. Mr. Chalmers appeared in Dundee, bringing with him a quantity

* Now Professor of Mathematics in St. Andrews.

of rye-coffee, as he called it, of his best manufacture. The trial between it and its rival was made in Dr. Ramsay's, to whose sister the performance of the important experiment had been committed. It was agreed that a select company of connoisseurs should assemble; that Miss Ramsay should furnish each, first with a cup of her best Mocha coffee, and then with a cup of the "Genuine Kilmany;" that each guest should announce his opinion, and that by the verdict of the majority the question of their respective merit should be decided. In the mean time, however, before the trial commenced, Miss Ramsay received certain private instructions, upon which she acted. In due time, the company assembled. The coffee being handed round, met with general approbation. The second cup was next presented: by one after another an adverse verdict was pronounced, till it came at last to Mr. Duncan, who emphatically exclaimed, "Much inferior—*very much* inferior!" Mr. Chalmers burst into laughter as he replied, "It's your own Mocha coffee; the second cup is just the same article as the first."

The supremacy of the imagination over the senses which he had thus tested upon Mr. Duncan and the coffee-connoisseurs of Dundee, Mr. Chalmers used also to illustrate by an incident which occurred in the house of his granduncle, Dr. Chalmers, the minister of Kilconquhar. A party of ministers had met at the manse, where a number of them were to remain all night, and among the rest, Mr. Gray, against whom some slight pique, on account of a real or assumed literary superiority, was entertained. The question as to the relative power of the imagination and the senses was raised, and the argument rose high, Mr. Gray alone taking the side of the senses, and all the others the side of the imagination. The combatants parted for the night; Mr. Gray, by retiring first, giving his adversaries the opportunity of concocting the trick by which they made his own act contradict his argument. It

was the custom at that time to wear wigs, which were given to a servant at night to be powdered for the next day. When Mr. Gray, with his freshly powdered wig, came down next morning to the breakfast-room, he found it unoccupied. It was not long till one of his brethren joined him, who, on approaching, gave very distinct, but not very agreeable indications that a most offensive odour was issuing from the wig. Trying his own senses, Mr. Gray could detect nothing amiss, and laughed at his friend for his folly. Now, however, a second friend came in, who declared, immediately on entering, that there was a very strong smell of brimstone in the room, and traced it at once and unhesitatingly to the wig. The laugh subsided, but still, after a second trial, Mr. Gray could find nothing amiss. But a third friend came in, and a fourth, and a fifth, all fixing the alleged offence upon the wig, till his own senses overcome at last, and the victory given to his adversaries, Mr. Gray flung the harmless wig indignantly away, exclaiming, " Why, the fellow *has* put brimstone on the wig !"

Throughout that illness which reached its climax about the close of the year 1809, Mr. Chalmers continued his preparations for the article " Christianity"—reading when he could not write—listening to another when he could not himself read. Many volumes of Voltaire's works had been perused; and some progress made in Lardner's " Credibility," before the labour of composition could be resumed. That labour was vigorously prosecuted during the summer of 1810, his broken and feeble health sometimes disabling him from writing, but never interfering with that high state of mental excitement to which he had been raised. " I have seen him," says Mr. Smith, speaking of those summer months, " almost in an ecstasy when he was speaking of the grandeur and excellence of Christianity, and of the clearness and force of the evidence by which it is supported. His mind was almost overwhelmed

by it. One day he called on me and said—'Tell me all that ever you heard against Christianity from its enemies: I am more than able to refute them all. The evidences of our religion are overwhelming.' It is utterly impossible for me to convey in language an idea of the manner in which he uttered these and similar expressions. His whole soul was completely absorbed, and he gave vent to his feelings in language peculiarly his own." It was amid such exciting engagement of his thoughts with Christianity in its wider and more general aspects, that the discovery broke upon him that the gospel presents a distinct and peculiar scheme of mercy—providing for the sinner's immediate and complete reconciliation with God. That discovery bore many fruits; and this among the rest, that his mathematical readings, which, after his recovery, had been partially resumed, were now finally abandoned. The same principle, however, which induced the relinquishment of all his scientific pursuits, secured his hearty acquiescence in a proposal conveyed to him from Edinburgh. In the spring of 1810, Mr. Andrew Thomson was removed from the East Church of Perth, and ordained minister of New Greyfriars, Edinburgh. A few months after his settlement in the metropolis, he commenced the publication of the "Christian Instructor." The first number of this periodical appeared in August 1810; and in the January of the following year, its editor wrote to Mr. Chalmers, requesting him to become a contributor. "The Review department," he said, "is that in which I wish you to write. I hope you will have no objections to comply with my request. In this case, let me know what species of works you would like to criticise. There is one on Toleration, lately published in London, which I would wish you to undertake. The subject is very important, and affords great scope for good writing. Do not decline it. Set your mind to it, and we shall have a good article." To this request Mr. Chalmers at once

acceded. He had lying by him the criticism on Dr. Charters' Sermons, prepared some months previously, and originally intended for the Edinburgh Review; this he forwarded immediately to Mr. Thomson. Its author must have had some slight misgivings as to the reception his critique might meet with, otherwise, in announcing its transmission, he would not have thought it necessary to make the following suggestions:—

"KILMANY MANSE, *January* 18, 1811.

"As I wish to be upon the most liberal understanding with you, I think it right to say, that I count it the undoubted privilege of an editor to express his dissent from any opinion advanced in the contributions which are sent him: only, it occurs to me, that the most palatable method of doing this would be, to insert the contribution entire, and that you would save your responsibility with the public, by introducing your exception in the form of a note or appendix at the end of the article. My sole intention in this is, that each of us may feel unshackled, and be perfectly secure of understanding one another, in spite of any difference of sentiment that you may either feel or think yourself bound in conscience to express. I do not anticipate any difference in things which are essential; for be assured that the manly and vigorous orthodoxy which you patronize is quite according to my own heart; and I think a Magazine like yours peculiarly called for, as a barrier against the flippancy of the prevailing taste in theology, which seems to have abandoned altogether the substance of Christianity, and the authority of its peculiar doctrines."

To this communication Mr. Thomson replied as follows:—

"EDINBURGH, *February* 18, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,—I have received your criticism on Dr. Charters' Sermons. It is well written, and in many points extremely

just and striking. But I fear much we cannot insert it in the Instructor, as a review of our own, without very material alterations. These I need not point out at present, as in your letter you object to any such alterations being made. The method by which you propose to reconcile, or at least to express our difference of opinion, will not do. Our review department is understood to express our own sentiments; and to admit your article as it stands, subjoining notes in contradiction to parts of it, would be actually to tell our readers that we have two different creeds. If you wish it to be published in our Magazine, I shall be happy to put it among the religious communications, and in that case I can make what remarks appear to be proper. From what Mr. Shaw wrote me, I find that it has been shown to Dr. Charters himself, which puts me rather into an awkward predicament. But I cannot help it.

" I herewith send you the book on Toleration, which I wish you to review. The subject is very important, and I should suppose it is one on which we shall not differ much. I am for toleration being enjoyed by all denominations of Christians, including Roman Catholics. But Catholic Emancipation is such a ticklish question, that I should like you, when alluding to that point, to deal in generalities. We must beware of meddling with the party-politics of the day. Be brilliant. Go the length of twelve pages of letterpress, and be ready on or before the 2d day of April, if possible.—I am, dear Sir, yours truly, ANDREW THOMSON."

The receipt of this letter is marked by the following entry in Mr. Chalmers' Journal:—" *February* 23*d.*—I had a parcel from Edinburgh, with letters. Mr. Andrew Thomson cannot insert my review of Charters without material alterations. This is a proof that he conceives it to be incorrect in point of doctrine; and, as I feel myself upon the eve of some decisive

transformation in point of religious sentiment, I contemplate with interest everything that bears upon a subject so important." The reply to Mr. Thomson was not despatched till a few days had been given to consideration.

"KILMANY MANSE, *March* 5, 1811.

"DEAR SIR,—Let us, if agreeable to you, leave the future disposal of my critique on Dr. Charters' Sermons upon this footing. I have no particular wish upon the subject, and let it therefore go among the communications if you wish it. After it has got inserted it becomes fair game, and an author has no title to complain of the observations which he provokes by the public appearance which he makes of himself, as by the very act of committing his production to print, he surrenders it to the fair criticism of all his readers. At the same time, I should like to get a sight of it again before any thing more is done with it; and you will oblige me much by marking with a pencil all the obnoxious passages. If you could at the same time favour me with your corrections by letter, I would esteem it an additional kindness; and to save you the delicacy of saying —'I won't admit this production of yours into my magazine,' if you keep a dead silence upon that part of the subject, I shall infer that you wish to decline it altogether. I like the perfect freedom with which you have refused it a place in your review department, and I put it down to the firmness and integrity of your principles. At all events, I will thank you to leave it with Messrs. Oliphant and Balfour, to the care of my brother, who will get it transmitted to me.

"I shall attend to your wishes on the subject of a review of the 'Hints on Toleration.'—I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

The review of "Hints on Toleration" appeared in the May

number of the "Christian Instructor." Less brilliant than Mr. Thomson may have expected or desired, it is a close and consecutive argument, devoted to the establishment of two leading propositions--the competency of Government, in full consistency with those principles on which all our civil institutions are founded, to make religion the subject of legislative provision; and the entire compatibility of the most ample toleration with the existence and the safety of our religious establishments. The question of Catholic Emancipation is dealt with as the editor had desired—little ground however being left for doubting, that the writer's judgment was in favour of the removal of all civil disabilities from Roman Catholics.*

The review of Dr. Charters' Sermons appeared in the July number of the "Christian Instructor," the editor satisfying himself with appending an explanatory note of his own to Mr. Chalmers' critique of the volume.† Many years afterwards,

* The strongest point in this paper is its exposure of the delusion, that to grant perfect toleration to Dissenters would be to endanger the religious establishments of the country. "While these establishments," Mr. Chalmers says, "may repose in perfect security upon the independent suffrages of that vast majority which the members of the Church, if they have worth and piety and veneration for the orthodoxy of their own standards, will be always sure to keep within its pale, all these advantages on the side of the national religion are most wantonly thrown away when its permanency is made to rest upon a monopoly of political influence, upon the exclusion of Dissenters from Parliament—in a word, upon a system of intolerance which can neither be defended nor endured. * * * Let Dissenters of every kind obtain the fullest admission into all the civil and political offices of the country, but let us not give up an establishment. We hail their free and equal participation with us in the politics of the country; but we can never consent that the people of this country shall be thrown loose like the people of America, and that ten thousand churches should be pulled down, and their place left to be supplied by the precarious exertions of separate and individual societies." * * * The "Hints on Toleration" was the work of a dissenter, originated by Lord Sidmouth's project of meddling with the Toleration Act, and imposing additional restrictions upon Dissenters by exacting higher qualifications from their religious teachers, and by interdicting an itinerant ministry. Before Mr. Chalmers' notice of this volume appeared, it had already formed the subject of an article in the Edinburgh Review.—See vol. xvii. p. 393.

† "NOTE.—We certainly could have wished that the peculiar doctrines of the gospel had been more explicitly noticed, that we had not merely been able to

when Dr. Chalmers transferred the critique from the pages of the "Instructor" into the series of his works, the original note of Dr. Thomson was retained and appropriated. The following entry in his Journal marks the impression made at the time of its first appearance:—"*July 22d.*—My review of Charters' Sermons has appeared in the 'Christian Instructor,' with such a note from the editor as it certainly required."

But let us take up now the Journal of 1811, which marks Mr. Chalmers' advancing progress towards a secure establishment in the faith of the gospel, and which records the first efforts of a ministry which now had a new motive and a new end.

"*January 1st,* 1811.—Made a round of new-year calls. Let me lay myself out for the happiness of those around me, and make every sacrifice, whether of vanity or indolence, to the perfect fulfilment of Christian love. Let me give a regular time every night to self-examination.—O God, make me to live to Thy glory. May I be clothed with the armour of religion; may I grow more and more in the right principles and practice of Thy Son's gospel; and as years roll over me, may I withdraw my affections from time, and feel that in moving through the world I am moving towards eternity.

"*Sunday, January 6th.*—Began my course of lectures on St. Matthew. A great party from Naughton there, and Miss St.

recognise their influence throughout the practical discussions of the volume, but that they had been more openly announced, and more emphatically stated. In our author's pages, indeed, we observe such a spirit pervading them as nothing could have infused but a strong and decided impression of Christian truth. But to give a prominency to that truth, to bring it particularly and broadly and frequently into view is attended with great advantages, independently of its immediate effect on the instructions in which it is exhibited. And though we entirely disapprove of that ostentatious way in which some bring forward the characteristic truths of Christianity, we are persuaded that the other extreme of keeping them very much out of sight, is not justifiable on any good ground."—See Christian Instructor, vol. iii. p. 52; and Dr. Chalmers' Works, vol. xii. p. 320. For Dr. Chalmers' final estimate of Dr. Charters' Sermons, see Posthumous Works, vol. ix. p. 383.

Clair expressed her high satisfaction with my sermon. Let me resist vanity, repose all my complacency on the approbation of God, and convert the agreeable feelings which spring from the favourable testimony of man into a topic of grateful humility to that Being on whom all is suspended. Spent an evening of entire solitude, and have to thank God for the peacefulness of His Sabbaths.

"*January* 7*th.*—A review of this day sends home to my conviction the futility of resting a man's hope of salvation upon mere obedience; that there is no confidence but in Christ; that the best security, in fact, for the performance of our duties is that faith which worketh by love, and which, under the blessing of God, will carry us to a height of moral excellence that a mere principle of duty, checked and disappointed as it must often be in its efforts after an unattainable perfection, could never have reached.

"*January* 17*th.*—Mr. Smith, preacher; and Mr. Edie of Gibliston, came in upon me at dinner. The latter left me soon, but the former, with Mr. Edie of Kilmany, drank tea, supped, and spent the evening. In the expectation of the first Mr. Edie remaining with me all night, I was unmanly enough to look forward with cowardice to family worship. It is very true that the circumstance of having no family makes it appear in rather an awkward light among young men. I believe that upon the principle of not having my good evil spoken of, I may dispense with it on some occasions. On this subject I am not decided.

"*January* 20*th.*—Preached at Leuchars. Must enter more earnestly and particularly into the peculiar doctrines; and pray God that He would add to my zeal and usefulness.

"O God, may I grow in grace, and feel more and more the sovereign efficacy of a Christian faith in giving consolation to my heart and purity to my obedience.

"*January* 21*st.*—My friends from Anster arrived in a chaise

to dinner.—Thank God for the peaceful and pleasurable state of feeling which I enjoy. May I not be deceived by appearances; may I take heed lest I fall; and, O God, may the peace and the love and the joy within me be the fruits of Thy Spirit, and always abide with me.

"*January* 23*d*.—Found Miss M. at my house. She dined with us, and I was sorry to see that she had not the cheerfulness I should have liked to have seen her in. There is a high call on me to give myself up to another's comfort, and I should have struggled to be frank with her in spite of the untuned state of my feelings. How much did the Saviour endure to give that very comfort which she stands in need of! In all these cases let me maintain my patience; let me repose on the greatness of eternity; and let the grandeur of religious objects absorb the petty vexations of time.

"*January* 28*th*.—Miss Mary Wood, from Elie, called and spent the day with us. We had much conversation about religion; and, O God, may I grow every day in faith and in charity. Was much distressed by the cutting insinuations of the *Edinburgh Review;* and may I henceforth maintain a most strenuous devotion to ecclesiastical literature, that I may be enabled to repel them. Their observations on prophecy are highly dangerous.*

"*January* 30*th*.—I am certainly obliged to Miss Wood. Through her I have enlarged my observations on religious sentiments. I have imbibed a higher respect for the peculiar doctrines. I feel more cordially than ever that my sufficiency is of Christ, and that faith in Him is the most comprehensive principle of practice.

"*February* 4*th*.—J. M.'s daughter came to my kitchen in my absence, and conducted herself in a rude and impudent style on the score of my inattention to her parents. This is unjust

* See Edinburgh Review, vol. vii. p. 95.

and ungrateful. Let me show my sense of it, but let my benevolence in relieving them be as active as ever.

"*Sunday, February* 10*th.*—Preached all day. Hear from Mr. Thomson that Mrs. Bethune is delighted with my orthodoxy. This is so far satisfactory; but let me rise above the temptation of human praise, and give the whole counsel of God without partiality. J. still an invalid; and I must bring my mind up to all the possibilities. May resignation to the Divine will and the grandeur of eternity never fail to give strength under all the visitations of life.

"*February* 14*th.*—Rode over to Dairsie, and preached a fast-sermon there. Was much pleased with Dr. Macculloch's edifying and evangelical prayer. The people were most attentive; and I was gratified with the approbation of Dr. and Mrs. Macculloch, and Mrs. Coutts—a kind of testimony that two years ago I would have despised.

"*February* 22*d.*—Have begun to read 'Scott's Force of Truth;' and I pray God to beget in me a lively acquiescence in the truth as it is in Jesus.

"*Sunday, February* 24*th.*—Preached all day. I am not sufficiently intelligible to the lower orders, and must study to be perspicuous and impressive in my addresses to them. Mr. Justice from Dundee was one of my hearers, and dined with me. Teach me the act of extracting piety from every thing around me. Accept, O God, my gratitude for the peacefulness of Thy Sabbaths. Give me light and comfort in prayer. Strengthen and settle me in the principles of the knowledge of Christ; and well-grounded in the faith, may I feel that instead of making void the law, it establishes it; and may I go on with comfort and security to the diligent observance of all Thy commandments. He that observes the least of these commandments and teaches men so, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

"*February 26th.*—The verse, Acts xxvi. 18, has struck me this night as a compendious expression of Christianity—the object of which is to give forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in Jesus.

"*March 4th.*—Spent the day in experimenting upon the cutting of my hedge for fuel. This was trifling with a witness, and exemplifies one part of my character—the entire devotion of my mind to any novelty which interests it, so as to suspend all regular occupation in the pursuit of it.

"*March 6th.*—I have had a complete cessation of all regular study these three days back, and what has been the mighty avocation?—preparing and experimenting upon wood as a fuel. I have not succeeded in the object; and, at all events, how preposterous to put the main and important business of my life at the mercy of every idle and amusing novelty. Let me adopt the resolution not to go out of doors till one every day, whatever temptation may offer from the work and improvements which are carrying on around me. Began to plant trees on the north side of my intended garden. This abandonment of idleness on my part is an example, not of the growth or victory of principle, but is the effect of being tired, and disappointed, and ashamed of my trifling speculation.

"*March 7th.*—Have recurred to systematic employment, and find great comfort in it. Planted trees, and measured out my grass-plot.

"*Sunday, March 10th.*—I have too hurried a manner in the pulpit; and it would be of importance for me to be more confident of the effect, and not to make too great an effort from my anxiety to produce a full impression. Have to thank God for the peacefulness of His Sabbaths; and pray that I may prize more and more the excellency of the knowledge of God in Christ Jesus.

"*March 13th.*—Now that I have got well, let me devote a

great part of my time to the business of my parish; and may it be the main anxiety of my life, O Lord, to promote Thy glory, and to testify the gratitude of my heart for the merciful scheme of reconciliation made known and offered to us in the gospel. May I every day feel a growing interest in the covenant of grace; and let me evince in my own conduct that the doctrine of faith is a doctrine according to godliness.

"*March* 15*th.*—Called on sick people in the village. I am a good deal weaned from the ardour for scientific pursuits; and let me direct my undivided attention to theology.

"*March* 16*th.*—I have brought one year of the Journal to its close; and though decidedly more religious in my taste, in my temper, in my views, and in my pursuits, I have still much to aspire after. My hourly movements are still too little under its influence; and while I give God all the glory for the progress which has been made, let me not think that I have already attained or am already perfect; but forgetting the things which are past, let me look to the things which are before, and press forward to the prize of my high calling in Christ Jesus.

"There is a defect which I must supply in my Journal. It has hitherto exhibited no record of my studies. I shall still omit my common weekly preparations, but let me mark every day when I begin or finish the perusal of any book; and I find that a second reading should be bestowed upon every important book before I can be said to finish it. Let me also record the commencement and end of every severe composition.

"The following is a rapid sketch of my last year's labours:—

"Read a good deal of mathematics, but have finally abandoned that study, and purpose henceforth an exclusive attention to divinity.

"Read four volumes of Lardner; Newton on the Prophecies; Campbell on the Gospels; Charters' Sermons; Young's Night Thoughts; Paradise Lost; Hints on Toleration, by Philagath-

arches; Wilberforce's View of Christianity; Maltby's Illustrations of the Christian Evidence; Scott's Lady of the Lake; Lardner on the Canons of the Old and New Testament; and the Edinburgh Review and Christian Instructor as they came out.

"Wrote a review of Charters' Sermons; great part of a large performance on the Evidences of Christianity; a sermon on Psalm xi. 1; another on Psalm viii. 1; another on Romans iii. 10; and a lecture on Psalm cxxxvii. 1-6; a great many in short-hand for the ordinary supply of my parish, of which I delivered one on 1 Cor. viii. 13,* in the hearing of Dr. Charters, who seemed to be more taken with it than with one that was carefully written; a speech for Dr. Playfair, which I delivered at the Synod; and part of a review of Hints on Toleration,—in all about thirty-four sheets of closely written paper. My weekly allowance in this way is one sheet; but let me allow eighteen weeks for the avocations of duty or amusements.

"O God, may I number my days so as to apply my heart to wisdom. Grant me the guidance of Thy Spirit, and the joys of Thy salvation. May my delight, O Lord, be in Thy law, and may eternity be ever present to my recollection and my feelings. Time is short; and as years revolve over me, may I learn to prize as the truest of all wisdom, the wisdom of the gospel. I am in Thy hand, O God. If Thou pleasest to add

* The Sermon on Psalm xi. 1, was preached afterwards in Glasgow, (I believe, however, upon an emergency,) with no other alteration than the prefix of an additional text, and will be found in Dr. Chalmers' Works, vol. vi. p. 234. Its descriptive introduction bears comparison with the most eloquent passages in the author's writings; and the whole sermon has a new interest given to it when it is known that it was written after his illness, but before the decisive change. It is, in fact, a record of the transition-period: the retrospect of his own life as taken at that time, given under the title of the Restlessness of Human Ambition. The lecture on Psalm cxxxvii. 1-6, and the sermon on Romans iii. 10, will be found in Dr. Chalmers' Posthumous Works, vol. vi. pp. 91 and 162. The short-hand sermon on 1 Cor. viii. 13, was made the basis of a composition for Glasgow, which will be found in his Works, vol. ix. p. 319.

another year to my pilgrimage below, may it witness my progress in the faith and charity of the New Testament. Make me to feel a clear union with Thee in Christ. May I taste the joys of Thy chosen, and rejoice in the contemplation of that everlasting crown which is laid up for all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity and in truth. May I be faithful in the duties of my calling, and may the care of the souls of my people engross more of my time and prayers and strenuous application. All I ask is for the sake of Him to whom, with Thee and the Holy Spirit, I give all the praise and all the glory.—Amen.

"*Sunday, March* 17*th.*—From this day I have added the reading of a chapter to my family worship. I have also begun the New Testament in Greek, and must revive my acquaintance with that language by reading a small portion every night.

"*March* 18*th.*—Went to Murdochcairney at the special desire of Miss Henderson, and dined there. She anticipates death, and complains of her want of confidence in the power of the atonement.—O God, give me judgment and delicacy for the management of such important cases. May I be the mean of comfort and conversion to sinners; and dissipate, O Lord, the cloud which overhangs my own feelings. I understand the significancy of what the psalmist calls waiting on the Lord; and this evening I feel a peace, and love, and joy, for which I praise the Giver of every good and perfect gift. On my return from Murdochcairney called at Star Farm, and drank tea with Mr. Johnston.

"*March* 21*st.*—Preached a fast-day sermon. Had a collection for the Bible Society, and can perceive a contempt or disinclination for this proceeding on the part of Mr. ——. Let me carry through what is right and religious in opposition to every discouragement.

"*Sunday, March* 31*st.*—Preached what Mrs. Bethune would call a legal sermon, and be probably offended with. Let me not seek after the approbation of men; but, at the same time, let me practise every expedient for reconciling the minds of my hearers to what I conceive to be sound and scriptural. By insisting upon holiness as the fruit of the Spirit, I soften down the opposition to practical preaching.

"*April 4th.*—Finished this day my critique of the Hints on Toleration, and sent it off to Edinburgh. Began a speech for the Synod. Wrote some strong severities about Hill, and felt myself in a divided state of sentiment about their propriety, when in comes a most civil and obliging letter from himself in answer to one sent him about Charles. This disarms me, and I have resolved to soften some expressions and expunge others. This is a highly instructive affair. I had nearly deluded myself into a conviction of the propriety of my invective. The civility from him does not affect this propriety, but it affects my personal feelings, and I perceive how much self carries it over principle. The best rule is in every case to dispense, when possible, with all mixture of rancour or severity against individuals.

"*April 18th.*—A foul stormy day, and no intercourse with people abroad. I this day finished my perusal of Lardner's 'Collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies.' * * * Let me not lay my account with much happiness in the world. Let me view the present life as a preparation for heaven, and make an entire dedication of my mind to the faith and righteousness of the gospel.—O God, I implore Thy Spirit.

"*April 23d.*—I am sensible of a growing acquiescence in the peculiar doctrines of the gospel as a scheme of reconciliation for sinners.

"*April 27th.*—Got a letter from Mr. Kay of St. Andrews this morning, intimating the death of my poor brother David.

Sent an express to Anster upon the subject. The ladies very much distressed.*

"*April 29th.*—This has been a day of a very dark complexion. It rained incessantly, and came in in torrents through the east wall. This enough of itself to induce great discomfort; but when combined with the interior distress of the family, the extreme weakness of ——, the melancholy of ——, the cheerless insipidity and gloom of Miss M.'s temperament, and the high excitement of my own feelings, goaded, as they were, by reflections upon the conduct of the tradesmen,—all together formed a fine subject for the exercise and the triumph of Christian principle. I have to record the humiliation of my defeat. I did not act, or think, or express myself, as if I were born to live for others, and give up my own selfishness and my own gratification in the service of the gospel.

"*May 1st.*—Got a present from Mr Tait of Tealing of a sermon published by him upon the conversion of the Jews, with a complimentary note. This indicates a growing partiality for me on the part of the evangelical clergy.

"*May 15th.*—Looked at Walker's Sermons, and promise myself a great confirmation of evangelical principles from this publication.

"*May 17th.*—I am much taken with an observation in Walker, that we are *commanded* to believe on the Son of God, which gives us the high authority of heaven to plead against the charge of presumption in cherishing and maintaining the faith of the gospel.

"*Sunday, May 19th.*—Preached twice this forenoon. Mr. T. rated me on my two sermons in summer, but let me brave the imputation of zeal in the good cause of religion.

"*May 20th.*—Got Hannah More on 'Practical Piety,' and hope, under the blessing of God, that the perusal of this work may be the means of sanctification and growth in grace.

* David was captain of the ship Neptune, and died at sea, 19th April, 1811.

"*May* 24*th*.—A French prisoner, Mr. Bataille, appeared before my door this forenoon, and conversed with the tradesmen. I brought him in, and he dined and drank tea with us. I would feel exposure to such intrusions to be grievous indeed; and my vanity aggravates the grievance, by perceiving that he was brought here by the tradesmen, who conceive a minister to be the idlest of men, who can give his whole time to entertainment. A great part of my disquietude lies in the apprehensions of my fancy. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

"*May* 31*st*.—Rain without any abatement whatever, and no intercourse whatever with people abroad. Much may be done in solitude by prayer, and thought, and self-control. Examined a Bible Society report, and am strongly impressed with the value of this institution. Finished the perusal of Dr. Hardie's Sermons.

"*June* 1*st*.—My aunt and Jane returned from Naughton. The experience of the last week convinces me that solitude at home is my element, and supplies a strong argument against matrimony. In the independence of my resources, in the pleasurable trains of reflection which nothing occurred to interrupt, in the call to exertion to fill up the intervals of my time, and in my entire exemption from all that irksomeness and corrosion to which the offensive peculiarities of others are too apt to expose me,—I believe that quietness and solitude at home would add much to my usefulness as a public character. It is my duty to do all for the comfort of those under my roof, and to weather the trial of my patience, now that I am fairly embarked in it. But it may come to be a serious question in after-life, when any new arrangement in my housekeeping is proposed to me, what I should do. If, in point of fact, I feel less consumption of strength and of spirit in solitude, should not I keep it all entire for my professional duties; or should I

give way to the wishes of my friends? I feel the selfishness of consulting my own ease, and the deceit which may mingle with my calculations. But the truth is, they wish me to marry. It is not their own accommodation they want; it is their idea of my incapacity for housekeeping that prompts their arrangements. I do not feel this incapacity; and upon the principle of consulting my own soul in every good work, should not I come to a frank explanation, if ever any new arrangement be proposed to me? Let me stick by Jane, and in every other way, but in that of fettering myself with a constant housekeeper, let me spare no manifestation of friendship and regard for my other relations. If the offensive peculiarities of others be so apt to distress me, why hazard my future tranquillity upon a wife?

"I do not acquit myself of blame in this morbid sensibility, and fear that there may be more of what is unchristian in it than I am aware of.—O God, enable me to give my whole life to public usefulness.

"*Sunday, June 2d.*—Far more successful to-day, and pray God that I may never remit my vigilance. Preached in the forenoon, and Mr. Thomson in the afternoon. I find that I am too much hurried away by my keenness. Let me prepare less, write more concisely, and deliver myself in a more cool and deliberate manner for the future. Sat out of doors in the afternoon, where I read, and enjoyed the luxury of most delicious weather.

"*June 4th.*—I find that successful exertion is a powerful mean of exhilaration, which discharges itself in good humour upon others. This furnishes a double call upon industry.

"*June 6th.*—Am much impressed with Hannah More's chapter upon Self-Examination.

"*June 10th.*—I am delighted with the first chapter of Colossians. May I grow in grace and in habitual piety.

"*June* 14*th.*—I am still engaged with Hannah More, and pray that God would perpetuate the good impressions I receive from her.

"*June* 17*th.*—Mr. Bataille called with another French gentleman, Mr. Desperet, a medical man, who is far more pleasant and cultivated than the former. I had a long walk with them in the forenoon, and they dined and spent the afternoon. I have been perhaps too cordial in my invitations. I have asked them for next Friday; but, as the doctor wished to see Janet Grieve, there was a reason for it; and, in the mean time, I have restricted them to after one o'clock, and expressed my disinclination to numerous parties, so that I purpose to decline all further extension of my acquaintance with the officers at Cupar. The point of difficulty at present is Mr. Bataille, who drank too freely, and whose principle in coming out, I am afraid, is to secure to himself the mere gratifications of the tippling-house. This is coarse and degrading, and must be discouraged. I had purposed to give him money for purchasing clothes. I must be a little further acquainted with him. Perhaps the same money laid out in maintaining a moderate hospitality may do as much good, and be less hurtful to the feelings of gentlemen. In the mean time, let me not be so unbounded in my speculations while I am in debt. My first duty is not to owe. I may vacillate in my purposes, but let me at least adhere to every good purpose recorded in this Journal as fixed and determined upon. I must see further before I record any thing as to Mr. Bataille.

"There is a vast degree of self-conceit in the ecstatic feeling kindled by romantic generosity. The discipline of my hourly feelings is a far more unquestionable evidence of right principle.

"*June* 19*th.*—When a human being is in sight, let the idea

occur to me that he is a subject for the exercise of duty, and put myself on the alert.

"*June 22d.*—Messrs. Thomas and David Duncan and Dr. Ramsay came and dined with us, and left us in the afternoon. Upon the idea that they were to stay all night, I have to record that I was distressed, and had come to no determination about family worship. Had much pleasurable feeling all day; but let me never forget that self-denial is the first principle of Christian practice. Mr. Duncan brought a flaming account of my orthodoxy from Dundee through Mr. Miller, who was, it seems, delighted with it. Gave Mr. D. my review on Toleration to read. He was languid in his praise; and I rejoice in my growing indifference to it.

"*June 27th.*—Walked to Dysart, with a view to spend the night at Mr. Brotherstone's. Missed him, and went to the heavenly Muirhead, with whom and his kindred wife I spent a night of elevation and piety.

"*July 3d.*—I never had a more close, edifying, and satisfying faith in Christ, than I had this day.—O God, may I hold fast my confidence and the rejoicing of my hope firm unto the end.

"*July 4th.*—Rather better to-day. Looked into the Confession of Faith, and am resolved to give it an attentive perusal. Have begun a course of prayer with Janet Grieve, which I mean to persevere in.—O God, may I give my whole heart to the work of the ministry; and enable me to discharge its various duties with zeal and discretion.*

"*July 6th.*—Prayed with young Alexander Paterson.

"*July 8th.*—After some miscellaneous employment in the

* On the 15th of this month he wrote thus to his brother James:—"The truth is, that a minister, if he gives his whole heart to his business, finds employment for every moment of his existence; and I am every day getting more in love with my professional duties, and more penetrated with a sense of their importance."

forenoon, such as bestowing sessional relief, and visiting Alexander Paterson ministerially, I dined and went off to Dundee.

"*July* 10*th*.—Mr. James Anderson, Dr. Ramsay, and his mother, dined with us to-day at Mr. Duncan's. Mr. Anderson a most promising subject, and a kindred spirit in matters of theology. Brought forward my Christianity after dinner; and should let a judicious and enlightened zeal for its interests be the guiding principle of all my conduct and all my conversation.

"*July* 17*th*.—I went too far in my dissatisfaction with ——. I feel humbled, and ask with tears for pardon and reformation. —May I be strengthened, O Lord, by Thy glorious might to all patience, with long-suffering and joyfulness.

"*July* 18*th*.—Began Richard Baxter's 'Body of Practical Divinity,' which I mean to make my devotional reading in the evenings; and I pray God that I may be ready to submit in all things, and give my whole heart to the business of salvation, both as it respects my own soul and that of those who are committed to me. Must be more earnest and more particular in the performance of every part of my duty. Prayed with Janet Grieve.

"*July* 20*th*.—Mr. Anderson came over from Dundee, and spent the day with me. Fatigued myself with reading too much to him. He is an excellent subject for peculiar Christianity.

"*Sunday, July* 21*st*.—Preached all day and am much fatigued by the exertion. Find that I have still to grow in faith, and that the exclusive honour and sufficiency of Christ must be a more constant and habitual feeling of my heart. Let the fruit I bear be all from Him as my vine.

"*July* 26*th*.—After tea, Professor Leslie called and spent the night with me. I thank God for supporting me in my good determination to have family worship.

"*Sunday, July* 28*th*.—Preached in the afternoon, and am

very little fatigued by it. Was under excitement in the morning, but was sweetened and subdued as the day advanced; and I feel that much is due to the state of my physical sensations; but, O my God, hear the prayers which I have uttered, and make my repentance of all that is uncharitable within me sincere and effectual. Give me a thorough submission to Thy law and Thy ordinances; and leaning on Christ as my complete salvation, may I look to Him with faith for my deliverance from the punishment of sin through the power of His sacrifice, and for my deliverance from its power through the influences of its Spirit.

"*July 30th.*—* * * The French gentlemen and Mr. Brown of Galdry dined. Mr. Melvil of Newton joined us at tea. Bataille got literally drunk, and presented a spectacle most offensive and degrading. He is sick, and must stay all night. This puts an end to all further attentions towards him. Desperet left me for Cupar, and to him I may be attentive.

"*July 31st.*—Mr. Desperet came back this morning, and took Mr. Bataille to Cupar with him after breakfast. I gave the former a full exposition of my feelings upon the subject. I am much delighted with Baxter's observations about scrupulosity and vows. Let me be most cautious as to the latter; and with a strong determination to be guided by the law and Spirit of God in all things, let me commit myself to His Providence, and be regulated by the circumstances which occur.

"*Sunday, August 4th.*—Let me give my whole strength to the conversion and edification of my people. Mr. Duncan from Dundee came and spent the day with us.

"*August 7th.*—This my fast-day. Messrs. Fleming and Melvil preached; and I have to record that, though more attentive than ever, my conscience was never more tender at the interruptions which my mind suffered from the encroachments of worldly calculation.

"O God, may the solemn dedication I made of myself yesterday, when in mind and in prayer I testified my acceptance of Thee as my owner, of Christ as my atonement, of the Spirit as my sanctifier, be ever present to my feelings, and be followed up by my whole life and heart and behaviour.

"*August 8th.*—Re-examined a great many communicants; and I pray God for the origin and progress of religion in their souls. O fit me for the great charge of guiding them to the way of peace. I am much fatigued with my exertions, and with the prospect of duty.

"*Sunday, August 11th.*—This the day of my Sacrament; and though there be great room for future progress, yet I thank God for the progress that has been made, and pray that He would chase all presumption away from my gratitude. Much fatigued with my preparations and exertions together, and let me henceforth separate them. Let me prepare for my future Sacraments a long time before they come round, and, when they do come round, give my whole strength to the examination of communicants, the state of my own heart, and the impressive communication of my feelings at the time of delivery. Let me also be less profuse in my invitations to company. We had twenty-two at dinner; let me rather bestow my attention upon my parishioners another time. The relief which I now feel is another proof of the extravagance of my anticipations. The thing is far more formidable in foresight than in reality. I might have saved my mind a number of its anxieties, and the experience of every month supports the μη μεριμνᾶτε of Revelation. O my God, bless this sacrament, and in my own heart, as well as that of my people, may its impression remain to the latest hour of our existence.

"*August 12th.*—Messrs. Kid and Macculloch preached; and at dinner we had Messrs. Melvil, Macculloch, Kid, Fleming, and Thomson; Mrs. Melvil and Mrs. Coutts, and Misses Morton,

Collyer, and Henderson. I was so fatigued that I did not pay the active attentions I would have been disposed to do. I feel it my duty to be cheerful, and to adorn the doctrine of my Saviour with all that is winning in kindness and enjoyment.

"*August* 13*th*.—O God, give me the love of my brother, and the charity which endureth. May I grow in the knowledge of God; and may His reality and His relation to me be more intimately impressed upon my heart.

"*August* 14*th*.—From a Report of the Baptist Missionaries I am much impressed with the worth and utility of these Christians.

"*August* 23*d*.—I was thrown off my guard by a written application from Miss Bethune to my sister, requesting that I would take the forenoon of Sunday for the accommodation of her visitors. This I greatly dislike It was the previous arrangement betwixt me and Mr T, that I preach in the forenoon, else I should not have done it—O God, save me from carrying my antipathies to the length of uncharitableness

"*August* 26*th*.—Resumed my work on Christianity, after a cessation of five months. Finished the second perusal of Prideaux's 'Connection.'—O God, fit me for suffering, for taking up my cross, for living a life of faith on the Son of God, and by submitting to Christ as He is offered in the gospel, may I become a fit subject for the influences of the Spirit. Mr. Craik of Kennoway called in the evening, and spent the night with me. Mr. Robert Edie supped, Mr. John Patrick and Miss Mary Wood called for a few minutes in a chaise, and took a luncheon with me. A deep sense of God and of eternity is the best protection against embarrassment or fearfulness in the presence of men. When I do what is doubtful the painful reflection should be a strong and effectual argument against the repetition of it. Pardon my sins, O God, and may I never couple faith in the atonement of Christ with a feeling of security in

the violation of a single commandment. O God, grant Thy Spirit to work in me the work of *faith with power*.

"*August 27th.*—Had a most agreeable letter from Mr. James Anderson, which, I trust, will be the commencement of a series devoted to intimate improving and confidential interchange of sentiments on the highest of all subjects. Received a box from London containing some relics and memorials of poor David to be forwarded to Anster. I thank God for the peace and love and joy of this day.

"*August 28th*.—Wrote James Anderson. Began this day to read the 'Life of Henry'—O God, whatever I do may I do it to Thy glory, and may I look for acceptance only through the finished obedience of the Mediator.

"*September 3d.*—Went to the Presbytery, had a pleasant greeting with Macculloch. Did business with Mr. Kid and others. Mr. Wilkie, the celebrated painter, my old and intimate friend, dined with us, and I supped and spent the evening with him in Low's

"*September 4th.*—Met Peter Cleghorn, and took leave of him and Mr. Wilkie in the forenoon I said a little about my authorship to Mr Wilkie, but feel that my interest has subsided strongly upon this subject, and may it do so with every earthly object.

"*September 5th.*—I am much impressed with the 'Life of Henry,' and the magnitude of his labours.—O God, give me grace to put forth all my strength in Thy service.*

"*Sunday, September 8th*.—I am advancing in my conceptions of the mighty importance of my office, and that every minute should be devoted to its labours. O God, give me health and firmness to carry my purposes into execution.

"*September 9th.*—Rode to Rathillet, and visited a son of

* "You may tell my father that I have at length come into his opinion that the peculiar business of his profession demands all the time, all the talents, and all the energy that any minister is possessed of"—Letter to his mother, dated September 5th, 1811. [In connexion with this, see pp. 68, 69.]

Widow Crichton's, apparently in the last stage of consumption. O God, give me discretion and judgment and zeal in the management of these cases. May I pray with faith. I gave her sessional assistance. It may be the natural ungraciousness of her manner, but I am not sure that she received it well, and you may carry your offers of money to a degree that is offensive. Better not to be too forward in these offers. It is right to keep alive delicacy; and an exuberant facility in giving may induce an improper dependence among the poor. Presents in kind are not so liable to exception; and that most substantial of all benevolence, which has for its object the turning of many unto righteousness, is liable to no exception whatever. O God, may I devote my entire soul to the good work.

"*September* 10*th.*—Received Bible Reports, and am much impressed with the utility of these institutions. O God, may Thy work be my delight. Ground me in the faith, and give me the zeal to devote myself wholly to these things.

"*September* 11*th.*—I have some conceptions afloat on the subject of making efforts for the Bible Society. I was particularly dull in prayer this evening, and may I struggle to obtain some portion here of what is to be my joy hereafter, the light of the Divine countenance, and an intimate sense of what is godly and spiritual.

"*September* 13*th.*—I have begun Baxter's 'Call to the Unconverted,' and intend it for circulation.

"*Sunday, September* 15*th.*—Let me keep cool and moderate in my pulpit exhibitions. It would be desirable not to throw away my ability for the thoughts and exercises of the Sabbath evening.

"*September* 18*th.*—I finished my perusal of the New Testament a few days ago, and began it again at the rate of a chapter every week-day, with the particular view of committing the most remarkable passages to memory.

"*September* 21*st*.—J. H. came and spent the night. I did right in upholding my views on religion to him, but I did wrong in solacing my appetite for sympathy and justice by my statements about the P.'s. O God, give me that indifference to time and that faith to eternity which is satisfied by committing itself to Thee. I feel how deficient I am, how the atonement of Christ is the only foundation; but, oh give me the evidence of my interest in this atonement by the test and the consequence insisted upon in the Bible,—' He that hath this hope in him purifieth himself even as Christ is pure.'

"*September* 28*th*.—Fell in with David Wilkie, the eminent painter, at Cupar, and went out with him to Cults, where I spent the day. Lord Leven, Dr. Martin, and a bevy of ladies called on Mr. Wilkie.

"*Sunday, September* 29*th*.—Preached at Cults to an attentive audience. I tried to impress my peculiar views on Mr. D. Wilkie. O my God, restore me to the light of Thy countenance, and unite me with Christ by faith! May I see in my own imperfections that there is no dependence on myself. I repair to that fountain which is opened in the house of Judah for sin and for uncleanness, and give me the evidence that I am saved from its punishment by saving me from its power.

"*September* 30*th*.—Called at Pitlessie on Mr. Lister. A flow of female company at Cults to see Mr. Wilkie's paintings. I left there at one, and walked to Cupar.

"*October* 1*st*.—Confined all day with bad weather. Have resolved to take my studies more easily, and not restrict myself so much to stated employments. Composition in the forenoon, and the study of the Bible in the original, are the only two exercises in which I propose to be pointedly regular. The reading of English I leave at large; and I pray God that as my health improves I may give it to His service.

"*October* 4*th*.—In addition to my usual employments, I filled

up the day with the reading of Marmion, and at evening never wanted warmth and liveliness in prayer to such a degree. My mind was greatly exhausted. Finished some days ago Baxter's Call and Henry's Life, and have begun Macknight's Credibility.

"*October 7th.*—Employed the forenoon in a critique of some verses which Mr. Mudie submitted to me. Erred in disclosing the affair to Charles. It was a breach of confidence. Oh, that principle gave direction to all I did and said and wished! In this way only will my earthly business be made to have a savour of heaven, and the great bulk of my time have a reference to religion and God and eternity. O God, give me the victory.

"*October 9th.*—I am not in my element where work and work-people are concerned. May I sit loose to the interests of the world, and give my heart here to that praise and love and contemplation of God which is to form my employment hereafter. The habitual estrangement of our minds from Him is the decisive evidence of our natural corruption and of our need of redemption by the blood of Jesus, and sanctification by that Spirit which He gives to all who believe on Him.

"*October 14th.*—Called on Janet Grieve. I imagine that my attentions had induced the expectation that I would pay their doctor's account. I conceive them able to pay it: I think myself right in not making the offer. The object of my kindness should not be to secure their good opinion by coming up to their expectations, but to do them good. Let the attainment of this object be enough for me, and let me not be discouraged by the want of gratitude or the want of applause. O God, refine, and elevate, and sanctify all my principles. Went to Dundee with Charles, and spent the evening in Mr. Duncan's.

"*October 15th.*—Called on Mr. Anderson, and walked much with him in the forenoon. Dr. Ramsay and Mr. William dined with us. Had much congenial discourse with James Anderson, who, I hope, is in the way of being a decided Christian. Met

Mr. Mudie, who feels cold, I think, from the freedom of my critiques upon his poetry.

"*October* 17*th.*—Left Dundee after breakfast. Visited Janet Grieve.*

"*October* 18*th.*—Called on Janet Grieve.—O God, let me give my whole life to Thy service, and to the preparation of a people for eternity.

"*October* 19*th.*—Visited Janet Grieve twice. She died at three o'clock.

"*Sunday, October* 20*th.*—Mr. Gillespie and a number of his friends in church, on which I substituted an elaborate sermon in place of my lecture, and was not supported by the sympathy or intelligence of my hearers. Have still too little command of myself, and very much exhausted in the evening. * * * I have more of the quiescent spirit about me than I had, but let me cultivate the habit of reposing upon eternity.

"*October* 23*d.*—Alexander Robertson supped with us. How little are the thoughts and words employed about the things of eternity in familiar intercourse. Let me make this a distinct object, and mix discretion with zeal. Let me not be ashamed.

"*October* 24*th.*—I was defective in prayer this evening. I pray for the continued visitation of the Divine Spirit. I feel more than ever that my rest is upon the sacrifice, and my sanctification is the work of Him who, by His obedience, purchased gifts for all who believe on Him.

"*October* 25*th.*—Charles left me this morning for Flisk. Messrs. Duncan and Mudie called from Dundee, the former of whom spent the day with me. A most brilliant day, and a number of huntsmen in sight. There is a wisdom required of us in conversation about religion; but it is most lamentable

* On the evening of this day he wrote to his mother :—"I called and prayed with Janet Grieve this afternoon. She is in greater distress than I have seen her, but her faith and resignation make my attentions to her a pleasant exercise."

that it should be so much excluded from the topics of familiar intercourse. Why should not the things of eternity form the most interesting subject of the converse and sympathy of immortal beings?—O God, give direction to this part of my conduct. I may at least divest myself of that playful familiarity which takes off from the effect of my principles. Let my manner speak seriousness and elevation, but let it at the same time be kind, and affectionate, and cheerful. This would be a great victory over myself."

In the course of this autumn, Mr. Chalmers' capacity for housekeeping, of which he was himself so confident, was extensively tried. In prospect of her approaching marriage, his sister Jane, who was his favourite housekeeper, had gone to Anstruther, and left him for a month or two in entire solitude at the manse. He was the sole manager of his domestic establishment when Mr. Duncan and Mr. Mudie* came in upon him from Dundee. Retiring, shortly after they made their appearance, in order to hold a private consultation as to the important article of dinner, he found, to his dismay, that there was nothing whatever in the house but two separate parcels of salt fish. Having given particular directions that a portion of each should be boiled apart from the other, he joined his friends, and went out to enjoy the brilliant day, and the pleasant sight of the hunting field. They returned to the manse with racy appetites; the dinner was served—two large and most promising covered dishes flourishing at the head and foot of the table. "And now, gentlemen," said the host, as the covers were removed, "you have variety to choose among: that is hard fish from St. Andrews, and this is hard fish from Dundee."

Fifteen years afterwards, when preaching in Edinburgh to a vast assemblage, all hanging with breathless attention upon

* For a brief notice of Mr. Mudie, see Appendix H.

his lips, the autumnal hunting scene was thus reproduced :—"There sits a somewhat ancestral dignity and glory on this favourite pastime of joyous old England, when the gallant knighthood, and the hearty yeomen, and the amateurs or virtuosos of the chase, and the full-assembled jockeyship of half a province, muster together, in all the pride and pageantry of their great emprise; and the panorama of some noble landscape, lighted up with autumnal clearness from an unclouded heaven, pours fresh exhilaration into every blithe and choice spirit of the scene, and every adventurous heart is braced and impatient for the hazards of the coming enterprise ; and even the high-breathed coursers catch the general sympathy, and seem to fret in all the restiveness of their yet checked and irritated fire till the echoing horn shall set them at liberty." Lord Elcho's huntsman was among the crowd, and afterwards declared that "he had difficulty in restraining himself from getting up, and giving a 'Vue-holla!'"*

"*October* 26*th*—Walked with Mr. Duncan to Rathillet. Mr. Mudie came and dined with us, and both gentlemen left me after dinner for Dundee

"*Sunday, October* 27*th*—The people very attentive to my exposition of the parable of the labourers in the vineyard.† Spent the whole night by myself. Christ could spend a whole night in prayer. Let me not feel intervals of inoccupation, when I have the faith of the gospel, communion with God, and a recurrence of the mind to the sure though invisible objects of eternity as my unfailing resource—O that my mind could at all times find satisfaction in the solitude of pious and devo-

* See Dr Chalmers' Works, vol xi p 255 and the exquisite Biographical Notice of Dr. Chalmers read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, by the Very Rev E. B. Ramsay, &c.

† This exposition is to be found in the Introductory Essay prefixed to Baxter's Call to the Unconverted.—See Works, vol xiii p. 117.

tional feelings, and feel enough to occupy it in that life which is hid with Christ in God.

"*October* 28*th*.—After dinner Mr. R., M., and two of Mr. R.'s cousins came in, and I entertained them till after supper. The society is not congenial; and, in general, those hours which you cannot devote to religious conversation may be considered as so many blanks in the existence of an immortal being. Oh, if I could have the right zeal and the right management upon this subject. How few, in your intercourse with the world, can be addressed directly on religion! Give me intrepidity,—give me superiority to shame,—and give me wisdom in my walk with those that are without. What would I have done had these young men remained all night! I hope in the strength of God what I should have done. Let me at least give such hours to the exercise of the Christian virtues. Give me exemption from vanity, selfishness, and display. Give me the manner which conciliates, the kindness which procures affection, the light which shineth in edification before men, and which illustrates not myself, but my religion. Let me not press drinking so much. I have long had the vanity of being thought a good fellow. On the other hand, I may disgust by an appearance of parsimony.—Oh, for discretion amid all these possibilities, and for that wisdom which is given to all who ask it in faith.

"*November* 1*st*.—Mr. Matthew supped, and asked the favour of a horse wintering in my field. As it is only one, and as I have been much obliged to Mr. Matthew, I acceded to the proposal, though it is perhaps one of those civilities that you are less disposed to grant, on account of the benefit received not being equal to the injury sustained by the poaching of my glebe in that wet season of the year. But let me count anxiety on these points one of those weights which I must throw aside. Had a most superior composition from James Anderson on our mutual subject—religion.

"*Sunday, November 3d.*—Rode to Dairsie, where I preached two sermons for Dr. Macculloch. There is one circumstance which I have to notice. I felt very blank and dissatisfied at the idea that something in my sermon did not accord with the sentiments of the people I had an esteem for; and when I afterwards discovered that there was more congeniality than I had imagined, I felt a recurrence of all those pleasurable trains of feeling in which religion has a share, or seems to have a share. Is there no mixture of earthliness in all this—no dependence upon the approbation of men? Have not I one Master, and is not He enough for me?—O God, make me to feel the firmness of the ground I tread upon, and enable me to give all my mind to Thy word. Above all, may I never recede by a single inch from my Saviour; and may I have a dependence on that within the vail which will sustain me in every trial of human opposition.

"*November 4th*—After much conversation with my excellent friend, Dr Macculloch, Mrs. Coutts, and the Collyers, whom I called upon at Vantage, I left Dairsie at two o'clock. I was much impressed with Maclaurin's sermon on the Cross of Christ, which I read in part to the Doctor. Called at Logie, and saw Mrs. Melvil: I hope in God that her illness will be sanctified by His grace. Had more intimate communion with God in solitary prayer than I had ever felt before; and my sentiment was a total, an unreserved, and a secure dependence on Christ the Saviour.—O may I enjoy His Cross, and may it be all my glory. May I view every spiritual blessing as the effect of union with Him by faith. He is laid before me as the one and the effectual Mediator. We are not only invited, but commanded to believe. Help our unbelief, O God; dissolve our hardness; enter into our hearts. May Christ be our all, and, under the influence of that which availeth, 'faith working by love,' grant that He may be to us power, 'and wisdom, and sanctification, and complete redemption.'

"*November 5th.*—Very bad weather, and no intercourse with people abroad. For some time past there was a languor and a vacuity in my religious feelings, and I attribute the comfort and revival of my mind to the firmer apprehensions which I have obtained of Christ as the Head of the body, and the one Mediator, through whom come down all spiritual blessings upon those who take to Him.—O God, keep me firm in the faith. May I not let it go. May I hold fast my confidence, and the rejoicing of my hope, firm unto the end. Keep me through Thy power to faith and to salvation; and may I receive the end of my faith, the salvation of my soul. O what simple, but significant and impressive energy in the Bible. Give me to examine it with care and with success. Read Muirhead's 'Account of William Burnet,' and rejoice that I derive clearness, and comfort, and instruction, from what I would have formerly repudiated as the most drivelling fanaticism.

"*November 8th.*—I went on to Naughton, where I dined. A great party there, and I maintained firmness better than usual. Let me be free of anxiety about the honour which is from men, and resign myself to the benevolence of the gospel, and I secure two capital ingredients of pleasant manners. However the day be spent externally, in heart and in substance let it be spent with God.

"*Sunday, November 10th.*—Preached all day. I pray for the capacity of earnest, distinct, and consistent addresses to the understandings of my people. But let me school it all down. I felt my distance from my Redeemer this evening, but was helped in prayer to a livelier apprehension of Him. O God, may I feel peace with Thee through Jesus Christ our Lord; and let every good sentiment which I utter not be in word only, but in power.

"*November 11th.*—Finished this day the perusal of Foster's 'Essays,' which I have read with great relish and excitement.

His profoundly evangelical views are most congenial to me. O my God, give me of the fulness of Christ, and keep me through faith unto salvation.

"*November* 12*th*.—May I never lose sight of Christ, that hearing His words, and believing in Him by whom He was sent, I may pass from death unto life. I feel more strongly impressed myself with the importance of His Mediatorship.

"*Sunday, November* 17*th*.—Mr. Thomson has now got into his new church, and the whole office of preaching has devolved upon me.* May I give my most strenuous and unceasing efforts to the great work of preparing a people for eternity. The people attentive.—O God, may Thy Sabbaths be my refreshment and my joy. Much delighted with Porteus' 'Lecture on the Transfiguration.' Had too little command of myself in the pulpit.

"*November* 19*th*.—Left St. Andrews, and breakfasted with Mr. Roger. Got on to Anster to dinner. Found the family in a tolerable way. Let me maintain the temper of a Christian in the peculiar warfare to which I am here exposed."

The following extracts from two letters of a somewhat later date, addressed to a near relative, may help to give the reader a distinct idea of what this peculiar warfare was :—"*Anstruther, Friday Evening, quarter past ten*—I have sat two hours with my parents this evening, and I trust have acquitted myself to their satisfaction, having answered their every question, and felt a real pleasure in meeting their observations, and helping forward the *crack* with observations of my own. I trust that God will give me His enabling grace, that I may conduct myself with that temper, patience, and attention which

* The Rev Mr Thomson was minister of the adjoining parish of Balmerino. While his church was building, the two congregations met in the church of Kilmany, and Mr Thomson took the half, and during Mr. Chalmers' illness, the whole of the Sabbath services.

become me."—"*Saturday, six in the afternoon.*—I think I am behaving well. I can scarcely force myself to talk when I am inclined to be silent, but I may at least ward off the assaults of anger. Now, this I have done; and while the Eh's? and the What's? reciprocate in full play across the table, and explanations darken rather than clear up the subject, and entanglements of sense thicken and multiply on every side of me, and Aunty Jean tries to help out the matter by the uptakings of her quick and confident discernment, and confusion worse confounded is the upshot of one and all of her interferences—why, even then, I know that it is my duty, and I shall strive to make it my practice, to stand serene amid this war of significations and of cross-purposes, and gently to assist the infirmities* which I may be soon called to share in."

"*Sunday, November 24th.*—Preached all day in Anstruther, and exerted myself to a degree that was most hurtful. I really must attempt a habit of self command in the pulpit; my health requires it. What I want above all is delight in God, and an intimate feeling of peace and reconciliation with Him through the blood of Christ

"*November 25th.*—Mr. Clarke had been receiving a most strange account of my sermons from Mr. Cockburn, who, in terms of admiration very uncongenial to my feelings, gave him a most mistaken and vexatious statement of the matter,—as if I had brought forward a formal recantation of all my old errors, had declared my conversion from the pulpit, and astonished the people with my own history and my own experiences. The days were when all this would have galled me to the quick, and still it is unpleasant. I intended no reference to myself whatever, and the mistake I conceive to be founded upon the vehemence of the delivery, and his literal interpretation of the mere figure

* All the three—father, mother, and aunt—were deaf, the first being also blind.

of egotism. Cockburn, however, has sent the thing abroad, and I am now fairly exposed to all the contempt which annexes to fanaticism. My business is to brave it all, never to relax a single sentiment founded on Scripture, and to steer myself by the guidance of conviction and the Divine Spirit through all that can oppose itself to the interests of the gospel.

"*November* 26*th* —Called on Mrs. Smith before breakfast, and went over Cockburn's misstatement. The awkwardness a little alleviated from what I gathered in the course of the day; but let me not be anxious at all about it. Received a call from Mr. Carstairs, who has put down his name for a Bible Society, and the proposal is now fairly afloat. Was still feeble, and have done little or nothing in the way of study since I came to Anster—O God, be Thou more present to my thoughts, and be Thou the portion of my heart and my joy for evermore.

"*November* 28*th*—Left Anstruther, and dined at Denino, where I spent the night.

"My business is to suppress my own feelings as selfish, and to allure others to the service of Christ, by a winning, and amiable, and conciliatory manner.

"*November* 29*th*—Started from Denino before breakfast Walked to St. Andrews. I am much struck with the banishment of religion from the thoughts and conversation. What is this, O God, but banishment from Thee? Recall me from this banishment; and whatever I do may I do it in the name of Jesus.

"*December* 7*th.*—I am writing a sermon upon Romans v. 1.* Not much satisfied with my performance, but had a livelier glimpse this evening of the propitiation than I had before experienced; and the peace, and confidence, and delight in prayer which I felt while under it, convince me that this is the object which I must ever strive after and maintain.—Give me, O God,

* See Works, vol. x. p 311.

to hold fast my confidence and the rejoicing of my hope firm unto the end.

"*Sunday, December 8th.*—Let all vanity, O my God, be crucified within me. Let my sole aim be to win souls; and though I cannot at all times command a clear and enraptured view of Divine truth, let me fill up every interval with works which bespeak the Christian. Bring me closer and closer to Him to whom Thou hast given all power, and committed all judgment. Fill me with His fulness; and may I have peace and joy with Thee through Jesus Christ my Lord.

"*December 10th.*—Let me be peculiarly on my guard against all selfishness and love of display; and, O my God, let me not satisfy myself with choking up the streams which flow from my vitiated heart. Apply the remedy to the seat and centre of the disease. Renew this heart; sanctify it by the faith that is in Jesus; and form it to Thyself in righteousness and in all holiness.

"*December 11th.*—Left Dairsie after breakfast, and walked to Kilmany. Read the 'General View of the Baptist Mission,' a most cheering and interesting work. Baxter's observations about the regulation of the thoughts are striking. I pray to be delivered from vain, and idle, and sinful thoughts.—O God, carry on my sanctification by faith, and may Thy good Spirit never abandon me.

"*December 13th.*—Finished my revisal of the article 'Christianity,' and have begun a series of regular sermons, in which I pray God for help and perseverance. My first is upon Romans x. 1.* Dined at Mountquhannie, and spent the night with them. Spoke about the Bible Society, of which Mrs. Gillespie has a high admiration, and other matters connected with theology.—O God, give me self-government; crucify all selfishness and vanity within me. May I labour for the inter-

* See Works, vol. xxv. p. 5.

est of Thy kingdom in the world, and may the faith and sanctification of the gospel be making a decided progress over the corruptions of my heart. I offer my prayer for all this family, and may Mrs. Gillespie grow in rectitude of sentiment, and zeal for the good cause of vital religion.

"*Sunday, December* 15*th.*—Preached as usual. I have not a strong enough sense of the malignity of sin, and therefore an inadequate conception of the greatness of that salvation laid before us in the gospel.—O God, may He who is exalted on high, give me repentance and the remission of sin.

"*December* 17*th.*—Let me give more earnestness and application to the secret discipline of the inner man; and, O God, assist me in Christ to regulate my thoughts, and to go on joyfully, without perplexity, harassment, or fatigue. O God, I commit the good work to Thy power and Thy faithfulness. Erred this forenoon in taking up two hours in a most fruitless and fatiguing investigation about annuities. I am much pleased with that part of Macknight's 'Credibility' which is on the prophecies.

"*December* 19*th.*—Had some very pleasurable processes of sentiment; but the great charm and the great solidity of all comfort lies in that security which is in Christ.—O God, give me to draw nearer and nearer to Him—to cultivate a more habitual intercourse with Him by faith—and to learn of Thee through Him, who alone can reveal Thee to us.

"*December* 20*th.*—Had been apprized by my man of business that my augmentation was to be pled on the 18th, and had made a number of provisions for obtaining intelligence of the result. Had attempted to fortify my heart against every species of disappointment, and submit to everything as from the hand of a wise and good Heaven. The precise kind of trial was what I did not anticipate—an intimation from Sandy that the business did not come on, and that, as the Court of Session rose soon, it must be put off for several weeks. This was the

kind of disappointment that was fitted to bear hardest upon my sanguine temperament—too impatient under suspense, too much addicted to suspicions, and too prone to indulge in plans and calculations for futurity.—O my God, may I be grateful to Thee for sustaining me. Perfect that which concerns me. May the great elements of my being—my soul, my sanctification, my eternity—be enough for me. Raise me, O Lord, on the wings of faith, and make me Thine entire workmanship in Christ Jesus my Lord. Read the 'Life of Campbell,' and felt some embarrassment in the want of congeniality with the tone of his sentiments. Let this endear to me Thy law and Thy testimony; and, O God, enlighten me so as to understand Thy Scriptures, and make the word of Christ to dwell in me richly in all wisdom.

"*Sunday, December* 22*d*—Was struck with an expression of the Psalmist, 'My soul *followeth hard* after thee'—O God, in so doing, may I not fail or be discouraged; but may Thy right hand uphold me Did not receive a letter from my agent to-day as I expected.—On everything connected with this subject, give me, O God, the victory.

"*December* 26*th.*—Had a call in the evening from A. Paterson, who had been reading 'Baxter on Conversion,' and is much impressed by it. Delighted to hear that it has also been read with impression by others. A. P. finds that he cannot obtain a clear view of Christ.—O God, may I grow in experience and capacity for the management of these cases. It is altogether a new field to me, but I hope that my observations will give stability to my views and principles on this subject, and that my senses will be exercised to discern good and evil.

"*December* 27*th.*—I examined about twenty-four people. I should leave the answers more to themselves, and must study to construct my questions accordingly. I hope and pray that much good may be done in this way.

"*December 28th.*—Delighted to find the 'Edinburgh Review' led to support the Bible Society.*

"*December 31st.*—Examined the west end of the village in church, and a few young people in my own house in the evening. Find that much may be done in this way, and that there is much to do. I find that I should not engage with more than ten or twelve at a time, to do them justice.

"As years roll away, let the impression grow firmer upon me, that while here I am not at home, but on a journey; and let me carry about with me the same faith, the same watchfulness, the same nearness of perception as to the things of eternity, as if I knew that in half-an-hour I were to be summoned, by the last messenger."

* In a note to an Article on the Education of the Poor. See Edinburgh Review, vol. xix. p. 39. The purpose expressed in this note of entering afterwards and at large into the Bible Society controversy appears never to have been executed.

CHAPTER X.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. JAMES ANDERSON.

"I NEVER encountered a more vigorous intellect than that of James Anderson." Mr. Chalmers pronounced this opinion at a late period of his life, and after he had been brought into contact with many of the highest intellects of the age. "I never met with another whose powers in all their dimensions approached nearer to those of Dr. Chalmers." Such was the sentence of one well qualified to judge, who knew them both most intimately.* Mr. Anderson was the only son of a banker and opulent merchant in Dundee. Younger by about ten years than Mr. Chalmers, he must have been under eighteen when he was first introduced to the minister of Kilmany, then generally known as Mr. Chalmers the mathematician, about whose intellectual devoteeism strange rumours filled his own neighbourhood, and had reached Dundee. Congenial tastes at once linked them together in close friendship. Mr. Anderson was designed for business, and had already entered his father's office. Of a highly enthusiastic temperament, he had been early smitten with the love of science and literature. The pure fire burned in secret, and he delighted to replenish it by fellowship with a kindred spirit which was even more ardent than his own. He was one of the first to whom Mr. Chalmers communicated the great change which

* The Rev. Mr. Bruce of Edinburgh.

had taken place in his religious sentiments. That favourite and confidential communication was one of many means, all gently and judiciously applied, by which he sought to win over his young friend to the Saviour, and to that cause which had now become so dear to him; with what success the following correspondence will in part enable the reader to judge:—

"PLEASANCE, DUNDEE, *August* 8, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have not forgotten the more important subject to which you drew my attention, and which was to form the main topic of our letters. Little as I can trust to my own resolutions, I hope that Christianity is a study on which I am now to enter in earnest, and that this is the first of a series of letters which will bear the marks of progressive advancement. As it is to you I am indebted for the resolution of making religion an object of direct attention, allow me, my dear Sir, at the outset, to return you my thanks, and to congratulate myself on the privilege I enjoy in your friendship. I trust that our connexion is such as to render unnecessary the assurance that I am not speaking the language of common intercourse, when I say, that I ever looked upon your friendship as the greatest boast of my life, and that, now it has taken a higher range, I annex to it a proportionate value. If I shall persevere—if I, from this moment, shall date the progress of settled religious principles, I will ever recur with gratitude to that hour when you exhibited these principles in all the attractions of former associations. It is not for want of similar appeals that I have hitherto regarded the subject with indifference; it is because these appeals were made in a tone of unsympathizing sanctity and unaccommodating rigour, and because there was no personal association to counteract the false repulsion which attends the first enforcements of religion. I am indebted to you for having made it a subject of

familiar discussion,—for having thrown around it the attractions of science and of eloquence,—for having made your appeals in a spirit of fellowship, good humour, and philosophy. I hope the time will be when religion will stand in no need of auxiliaries, and when I shall love the gospel, how homely soever its attire; but it is not easy to get the better, all at once, of the squeamishness of an overweening refinement. * * * I have now got Wilberforce and Hannah More, and I am to begin immediately with the former. I foresee that I shall stand in need of all your assistance and encouragement. I have little strength of resolution, and am much the votary of present impression. I am every day in society, and have an ample relish for all its distractions. I am fired with the desire of literary attainment, and it will require a severe discipline to bring this passion within due limits. I want proper sentiments even in my thinking moments;—even at the moment I am writing you, I want that heart to religion which I have to other pursuits. I acknowledge readily the supreme importance of religion over human science, yet, I must own that, were the paths to lead to the same goal, I would travel in the latter.

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"There is one feeling more which I must notice, because it is one I did not anticipate. I feel a kind of demi-scepticism since I resolved to make religion an ultimate pursuit. Formerly I felt the most confident security in the truth of Christianity; I now begin to be alarmed lest it may be false, and feel myself entering on the investigation with a suspicion formerly unknown. I, however, flatter myself that this does not arise from any secret wish to get rid of the subject. I would fain consider the feeling as akin to that of a juryman whose preconceived opinions vanish before the solemnity of an oath, but whose doubts only lead to more secure convictions.—I am, my dear Sir, yours faithfully, JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *August* 28, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received your most agreeable letter of the 8th only yesterday, and hasten to convince you of my full sympathy and co-operation in the great objects of our correspondence. I am too well aware of its stimulating effect upon myself, not to be most anxious for having it perpetuated. The subject in its naked importance has every claim upon me, and I wish to give it my entire and undivided heart. My tendencies in that direction are getting more decided every day; and I hope that they will soon gather strength enough to maintain their constancy, even though I had nothing but the processes of my own mind and the sympathy of my humble parishioners to support me. But I can assure you, that I feel the prospect of your communications to be a fresh and additional impulse. It is something vastly superior to the enjoyment of an ordinary acquaintance. It is like falling in with a fellow-traveller to eternity. I trust that the sublime and imposing termination will fasten our hearts, and give a steadiness to our movements thitherwards.

"At the outset of such a career we may lay our account with a multitude of anxieties. I am not entitled to talk of my experience, or to address you in the language of admonitory wisdom. Viewed as an experimental Christian, I am still in my infancy. I have not yet reached that repose of heart which, in the beautiful language of one of our old prophets, is termed quietness and assurance for ever. But I am deceived if I am not feeling my way towards it; and I have to attest, that the ground is never firmer under my feet than when I rest my confidence in Christ, and make Him all my redemption and all my righteousness.

"But let me forbear any anticipation upon the interesting details which I trust will come before us in due time, and occupy both our conversation and our letters in the prosecution

of our common inquiries. Be assured, that by the blessing of heaven, the unsettledness of which you complain will give way to prayer and perseverance. Your demi-scepticism has received from yourself its best explanation; and I count it a promising symptom of the energy and greatness of your feelings upon the subject. I derive great comfort from Heb. v. 14. When our senses are exercised by use, we shall get the better of that restlessness of principle of which you complain, and which I have often felt. It is not two years since I would have blushed to give the advice which I am now to offer, and would probably have smiled at the man who should have offered it to myself—earnest prayer. It is not necessary to philosophize upon the subject. Prayer is the authorized instrument of communication betwixt God and man; and if you think of any better expedient, remember that God is the author of that expedient, and gives it all its efficacy and all its operation. Wisdom calculates upon the expediency of means; but prayer appears to me to be a higher reach of wisdom, inasmuch as it remounts to the upper principle which gives birth and movement and energy to all things. * * * I can assure you, that, from the complexion of your letter, I have nothing but encouragement to offer. Your scruples, your anxieties, your dissatisfaction with yourself, are all, I trust, the happy tokens of an *earnest commencement*. I do not promise that satisfaction with yourself will be the final result of all those interior movements which now agitate and exercise you. The nothingness of self will in time come to be the favourite and reigning principle. You will place all your sufficiency in the Captain of your salvation; and you will at last feel that the humility of the Christian faith puts the whole economy of the Divine government on its only right footing, when God is all in all, and His creatures occupy the place which belongs to them as His subjects and His instruments.—I am yours, with much regard, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"DUNDEE, *October* 22, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I was so unlucky as to call on you on Thursday just as you had left Mr. Duncan's. I am sorry we had so little time together, for the impulse I receive from a single conversation is worth a month's reading. There is something so electric in the contact of one man with another, especially when their views are congenial, that each is doubly fitted for exertion. * * *

"To avoid these evils, [the evils of Antinomianism,] we ought to adhere to the rule, Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφὰς, for there truth appears in its native colouring. Indeed, I do not know how far it is safe to draw one's belief from didactic summaries, how unexceptionable soever. I should even suspect that a catechism, which gives the result of a profound Christian's researches in the Bible, might be pernicious as a first mover; it wants the spontaneity and development of the immediate oracles; like a plant in a hot-house, it may be pruned, and trained, and regularly expanded; but it has lost the hues, and the fragrance, and the *habitus*, of self-imbowered and indigenous luxuriance. So much for Antinomianism.

"The next subject that occurs to me, and, my dear Sir, it is the charm of familiar correspondence to be indulged in the even flow of thought, is the consolations of Christianity. There are several views to which I would wish to familiarize my mind on this subject. There is, first, the eternity of enjoyment which awaits those who adopt the gospel-plan of salvation,—bliss ever during,—bliss progressive and unassailable,—bliss heightened by the recollection of doubt, insecurity, and suffering,—bliss in concert with fellow-beings, who began with you their course on earth, and who are destined to be your companions in the career through unfathomable duration. There is next the good which a Christian may do. He who wins a family to righteousness stands higher in the scale of human

benefactors than he who unshackles a continent from thraldom; for he adds more to the sum of universal happiness, if we estimate the effects in their duration. It is a heart-rending reflection to have lived in vain; and the success of every plan of mere intellectual exertion is fortuitous; but he who has for his object the promotion of the Gospel acts with the security of success, for he acts with the assurance of Divine assistance. It is a sentiment of Mr. Clarkson, 'that no virtuous effort is ever lost;' and his own bright career is a noble proof that virtuous effort, if steady, is invincible.

"A third view, which I think is fraught with delight, is the stability of the Christian spirit as a leading passion. When we are deeply interested in any future object, we are little at the mercy of any circumstance, however untoward, that does not endanger the ultimate advantage. Now, if we could always make our thoughts bear upon eternity, how would it enliven the space between? Could we, in our journey through life, keep steadily before us, in a kind of intellectual *vista*, the enjoyments of a future state, how little would we care for the inequalities of the road, intrusion from the side-paths, or eclipses of sunshine? * * *

"These are a few of the suggestions of my better moments; but, alas! it is seldom I can command the solace of their influence, for I am most frequently plunged in the misery of him whose reason and passions are asunder. But I shall not add to the tediousness of too long a letter by a detail of unpleasant and personal feelings. I conclude with renewed assurance of the happiness I enjoy in your friendship. It is painful to think that, in this wide world, there are so few who care for us; and a friendship, with the hopes of eternal consummation, is a possession past prizing.—O may the God of all friendship cement our union, and, through the merits of Christ Jesus, enable us, when time is exhausted, to look back on these scenes of

struggle from the realms of security, where friendship is everlasting, where the only change is in increase of love, and the only rivalry that of benevolence.—I am, my dear Sir, yours unfeignedly, JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *November* 2, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received yours of the 22d, yesterday, and I can assure you that I felt a very deep and a very pleasing interest in its perusal. There is one sentiment in it quite according to my own heart, and the felicity with which you have expressed it gives me a closer and more satisfying impression of it than ever—the critique which you pass upon catechisms, which, however correct in all their dogmata, may not be correct in their general effect upon the mind, because they want the *spontaneity* and *development* of the immediate oracles. My Christianity approaches nearer, I think, to Calvinism than to any of the *isms* in Church history: but broadly as it announces the necessity of sanctification, it does not bring it forward in that free and spontaneous manner which I find in the New Testament. It does not urge my affections in the shape of a warm and impressive admonition. It is laid before me as part of a system; and I am somehow restrained from submitting my heart to the fulness of its influence by the severe and authoritative qualifications which are laid upon it. There is so much said about the dangers of self-righteousness, that I am afraid to trust myself with any attempt at righteousness at all; and for the simple obedience of love which the gospel teaches me, I either give up obedience entirely, or I find it prove fatiguing, because in addition to the simple feeling, I have also to give it its proper place in the fabric of orthodoxy, and to wield a most cumbersome machinery of principles and explanations along with it. I feel the influence of these systems to be most unfortunate in the pulpit. Were I to accommo-

date to the previous state of discipline and education among my hearers, I could not get in a single precept without spending more than double the time necessary for announcing it, in satisfying them of its due subordination to the leading principles of the system. Now I would ask, Is this ever done by Paul or any of the apostles? Do they feel any restraint or any hesitation in being practical? Is not this scrupulous deference to the factitious orthodoxy of Calvin a principle altogether foreign and subsequent to the native influence of Divine truth on the heart? With what perfect freedom from all this parade and all this scrupulosity do Christ and His apostles make their transition from doctrine to practice, and expand with the most warm and earnest and affectionate exhortation! No, my dear Sir, our divinity is not of the right kind unless it be a fair transcript of that divinity which exists in the New Testament. I admit the doctrine of good works, not because it comes to me in the shape of a corollary to the demonstrations of the schoolmen, but because it comes to me in warm and immediate efficacy from 'If ye love me, keep my commandments.' I do not think I can be wrong in calling no man master but Christ; and at all events it is making faith in Him my security and my refuge. I summon up the conception of Jesus as my friend, and with such an image in my heart, I feel the intolerance of orthodoxy stript of all its terrors.* I repair to the grand principle of faith as my refuge not merely against the anxieties of certain guilt, but against the anxieties of possible ignorance; and that very doctrine of the sufficiency of Christ which occupies so high, though not too high, a place in their systems, I convert into my defence and my protection when they frown condemnation upon me. That which availeth is, 'Faith working by love;' and if the love of Christ be shed abroad upon our hearts by the Holy Spirit, it is to be rejoiced in as the 'pledge and the earnest of our inheritance.' This is the attainment

which we must strive after; and we have the highest authority for believing, that prayer and diligence and the exercises of patience and faith, are means which, if strenuously persevered in, are never resorted to in vain.

"Your sublime views of eternity are most congenial to me; and I can well understand the regret with which you complain that they are not more habitual to you Nothing has convinced me more effectually of our fallen state than this habitual estrangement of the mind from those high themes of faith and of eternity, which, in its better moments, it acknowledges to be not merely of high but of exclusive importance. The God who gives us every breath, and whose sustaining hand upholds us every moment, should be ever present to our devotion and our thoughts. It is so in Heaven, and if not so on earth, it is precisely because the Bible representation is true, that the moral constitution of our nature is unhinged, and that the banishment of Adam from the paradise of Eden involved in it the banishment of all his posterity from its exercises and its joys. We should love God 'with all our heart and strength and mind,' says the first commandment of the Law; and there is not a truth in the whole compass of philosophy which rests more firmly on the Baconian basis of experiment, than that in the heart and life of every individual who comes into the world this commandment is fallen from. The law is for the direction of those who are able to keep it; but for us it serves another purpose. It instructs us, by its observed violations, in the melancholy but important truth, that all are 'guilty before God.' It compels us to the remedy laid before us in the gospel, and is the 'schoolmaster which brings us to Christ.' When you feel the wretched deficiencies of your own heart, take in a full impression of its unworthiness, and do not seek to protect yourself from the humiliating contemplation. The protection offered us in the gospel is protection

against the terrors of the law, and not against the shame and the consciousness of having violated it. 'Be not afraid, only believe,' says our Saviour; and the experience of every day carries home to my heart, that the only applicable expedient for man in the actual state of his present being, is simply to take to Christ, to unite with Him by faith, to approach God through that Mediator who is able to save to the uttermost, to perfect our union with the Saviour by doing Him the honour of trusting Him, or taking Him at His word, and to look for sanctification, for heavenly-mindedness, for conformity to the will and image of Christ, for redemption not merely from the punishment of sin, but also from its power, for 'progressive virtue and approving heaven'—to look for these, and for all other spiritual blessings, as the promised effects of that union. If you come to the tranquillity of such final conviction as this, is it possible, I ask, not to view the great agent in the process of reconciliation as your friend? and can the heart of the Christian refuse the energy of His impressive voice—'Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.' Virtue is not exploded, it is hung upon a new principle. (2 Cor. v. 14, 15.)

"I have only room for one thing more. Do not expect a uniform tone of elevation. Let your motto be, though 'faint, yet pursuing.' Persevere in the exercises of patience and prayer, and in His good time, 'God will perfect that which concerns you.' Do write me soon. I can assure you that I prize your correspondence as a very great luxury and refreshment. I had many things more to say to you; and I can assure you, that the more active and frequent an intercourse by letters, I will esteem it the more. I shall attend to your direction about the mode of conveyance; and in the mean time receive the full assurance of my regard.—Yours truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

"Dundee, *November* 18, 1811.

"My Dear Sir,—When you first seriously opened to me your change of sentiment respecting religion, I was (to express the thing with more force than elegance) neither *off nor on*. I possessed a vague reference to its importance, and a tacit conviction that it had not from me the attention it deserved; but its speculative importance sunk before my practical attachment to human pursuits, and my attention to it was always readily diverted by some of those lucky circumstances which are ever at hand to coincide with our inclinations. * * * I was, in fact, a practical Deist, excepting in a kind of tenderness for some tenets, and a reversionary outlook for final happiness. * * * When you engaged me to a serious attention to the subject, and when I promised to read Wilberforce, I consented, from the enthusiasm of the moment, and I continued, more for the sake of consistency than with a determination of heart. My struggles resembled that of a man in sleep, who is conscious of the recurrence of a frightful dream, but who in vain attempts to arouse himself, or even to continue to remember that the dream is not a reality. I have at length launched on the voyage, and have now the comfort to feel myself afloat. My convictions and resolutions are more decided than they ever were at any former period. I trust to God that they are the earnest of good things to come. My commencement has, however, wanted *continuity*. I have been resolute by starts, and the intervals have been filled up in the same unprofitable manner as usual. This I believe brings me up to my present situation. I feel the growth of a new principle, but it is yet isolated and uninfluencing. I come at it with difficulty, and lose it with ease. Like the electric spark, it is transient, and requires favourable circumstances for its excitement. * * * My temperament of mind is very unfavourable to during advancement. I want equanimity. * * * A feverish susceptibility, partly com-

plexional, and partly, I am afraid, from an indulgence in that worst of all dissipation, the romance of feeling, makes me the sport of every flitting excitement. I am of a temper exactly opposite to that which Hamlet assigns Horatio :—

> A man, who Fortune's buffets and rewards
> Has ta'en with equal thanks;—and blessed is he
> Whose heart and judgment are so well commingled,
> That he is not a pipe for Fortune's finger
> To play what stop she pleases.

I want that due admixtion of 'heart and judgment' which forms equanimity. I shall trouble you with one instance, which will show you what reason I have for alarm and watchfulness. Last year, about this time, I read 'Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.' It affected me so much, that I could not venture on it through the day, but always reserved it till after supper; and often at midnight have I detected myself, with the tears gushing from my eyes, raving through the room at the crimes developed, and driven almost to despair, because the trade did not now exist for me to abolish it; and yet, since last year, how many opportunities have I neglected when I might have done good with scarcely any sacrifice? * * *

"I take Wilberforce slowly, as I read the Chapters twice. As I proceed, I feel more and more delighted with his assertion of the supremacy of Scripture; and the more I can bring my mind to the *juxtaposition* of my Bible and my duty, the more I feel confidence in my procedure. The *media* of mixed motives do at best but perplex. I am glad to acquire my rudiments in the school of Wilberforce, especially as the spirit of the times is so much inclined to make human ethics and metaphysics the ushers to religion. Even the best friends of Christianity are often inclined to be too chivalrous in this respect. They are too fond of hairbreadth triumphs, and

manœuvre too much with a diversity of arms. They, like Hector—

> Rejoice to shift their ground, remount the car,
> Turn—charge—and answer every call of war,

while they ought rather to imitate Ajax Telamon, who cared not a whit for the graces and attitudes, but firmly planted himself behind his sevenfold buckler, and trusted to the momentum of sinews and of bones.

"Our *Telamonian* home-thrust ought, I think, to be this:—Christianity is either false or true; it has high pretensions, and it deserves a hearing; for 'if true, it is tremendously true.' Let us then investigate it,—let us here exert all our intellect and all our ingenuities; but, once convinced of its truth, let us submit implicitly to its decisions; let the evidences be the fulcrum of our faith, but let us not justle the scales which the Almighty has suspended. * * *

"I shall expect to hear from you soon. I shall not be long of again writing you—I am, my dear Sir, yours sincerely,

JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *December* 18, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have been daily in expectation of a letter from you. It is true that you are not in my debt; but the circumstance of your last having been written before you received my intervening epistle, together with your kind intimation that you meant to write again soon, have led me to look for something more from you. I am resolved to keep you at it; for I can assure you that I feel my intercourse with you, taken in connexion with its peculiar object, to be one of the most interesting of my concerns; and in the extreme scarcity of people who have an open and decided attachment to the good cause, I feel an impulse and a refreshment in your communications which I cannot find in my immediate neighbourhood.

Dr. Macculloch of Dairsie is a confirmed veteran in the school of Christ, but then he is at a distance; though in substantial sentiment I trust we are the same, there is a certain want of congeniality in the modes of expression; and though this should be deemed a *bagatelle* by every mind that is purely intellectual and spiritual, yet in this gross and imperfect scene it does operate as an obstruction. I complain of this to the good people of Dairsie, and tell them that I count it one of the obstacles which exist in this earthly tabernacle to the *communion of the saints.* It is doubtless a corporeal infirmity. The disembodied spirit will attach itself to the reality. We are the poor victims of association; and the disgust which we annex to the sign is part of that relentless dominion which *these vile bodies* exercise over us. I count it an evidence to be humbly rejoiced in and thankfully acknowledged, that I am getting sensibly above this prejudice—that what I formerly nauseated in the flavour and phraseology of Methodism, comes home more graciously to my heart—and that the sound faith and piety of many a Christian writer have at length reconciled me to certain performances, which I would within these few years have turned away from as the most low and drivelling fanaticism.

"Still, however, I want your co-operation, and beg you will not withhold it. In your habits of conception and language I meet with no impediment whatever to the fulness of our sympathy.

"I am very much interested in the progress of your sentiments. This, in the language of good but despised Christians, is called the communication of *your religious experience.* There is fanaticism annexed to the term; but this is a mere bugbear; and I count it strange that that very evidence which is held in such exclusive respect in every other department of inquiry, should be so despised and laughed at when applied to the pro-

gress of a human being in that greatest of all transitions, from a state of estrangement to a state of intimacy with God—from the terror of His condemnation to an affecting sense of His favour and friendship and reconciled presence—from the influence of earthly and debasing affections, to the influence of those new and heavenly principles which the Spirit of God establishes in the heart of every believer. This is what our Saviour calls 'passed from death unto life.' My prayer for us both is, that 'it may be made sure,' and that 'hereby we may know that He dwelleth in us, and we in Him, that He hath given us of His Spirit.'

"By the way, there is one anxiety which is apt to beset us upon this subject. When you read books upon the subject, you see a certain process assigned to a conversion, and in such a confident and authoritative way, too, that you are apt to conceive that this is the very process, and that there can be no other. I compare it with my own history, and my own recollections, and I am apt to be alarmed at the want of correspondence in a good many particulars. Scott's 'Force of Truth' is an example; Doddridge's 'Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul,' another; and last, though not least, the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' I pronounce them all to be excellent, and that there are many exemplifications as they describe. But the process is not authoritative, nor is it universal. The Spirit taketh its own way with each individual, and you know it only by its fruits. I cannot say of myself that I ever felt a state of mind corresponding to John Bunyan's *Slough of Despond.* Indeed I blame myself most sincerely, that I cannot excite in my heart a high enough conception of sin in all its malignity. I hope I have the conviction, but I cannot command the degree of emotion that I should like; and in the hardness of a heart not so tenderly alive as it ought to be to the authority of my Lawgiver and the enormity of trampling

upon Him, I feel how far, and very far I am at this moment, from the 'measure of the stature of the perfect man in Christ Jesus our Lord.' Now, what am I to infer from this? That I have not yet surmounted the impassable barrier which stands betwixt me and the gate of life? So one would suppose from John Bunyan; and so I would suppose myself, were it not for the kind assurance of my Saviour, whose every testimony is truth, and every tone is tenderness—'He that believeth in me though he were dead, yet shall he live.' This is my firm hold, and I will not let it go. I sicken at all my own imperfect preparations. I take one decisive and immediate step, and resign my all to the sufficiency of my Saviour. I feel my disease, and I feel that my want of alarm and lively affecting conviction forms its most obstinate ingredient. I try to stir up the emotion, and feel myself harassed and distressed at the impotency of my own meditations. But why linger without the threshold in the face of a warm and urgent invitation?—'Come unto me.' Do not think that it is your office to heal one part of the disease, and Christ's to heal up the remainder. He is the Captain of your salvation, and I take Him as such. I plead His own promise, that 'Him that cometh unto me I will in no wise cast out.' I come to Him with my heart *such as it is;* and I pray that the operation of His Spirit, and the power of His sanctifying faith, would make it *such as it should be.* That abhorrence of sin which I now feel to be in a manner dead, I hope, through Him strengthening me, will be made to quicken and revive. Repentance is the gift of God; and I look to Him for the fulfilment of His gracious promise, that He who 'hath given us His own Son, will also with Him freely give us all things.' I see that this Son is 'exalted on high, to give repentance and the remission of sins;' and I trust that that Being who has said, 'Without me ye can do nothing,' will enable me to 'do all things in the name of Jesus.' That very repentance

which, in its gloomiest and most despairing form, is represented by some as an indispensable step to Jesus, I now see to be the daily and the growing exercise of the renewed Christian —that my abhorrence of sin is quickened by that very faith which protects from its terrors. In the deep and mysterious sufferings of Christ, I see the dreadful testimony of heaven against it, and feel that it should be the daily prayer of Christians that they may be enabled to put out from among them that hateful thing for which our Saviour died.

"I do not know whether this suits you exactly, nor have I any right more than others to make my process authoritative. There is nothing authoritative but the Bible, and I read, *con amore*, your well-expressed sentiment upon the exclusive reverence that is due to it. Your high-toned ambition after the purity of the divine life is the undoubted effect of faith after it is once formed, and the best leader to it before it has taken full and effectual possession of the heart. It will do what the law did formerly—it will serve the office of a 'schoolmaster to bring you to Christ.' When a man compares his miserable execution with his high conception of what is right, he is, as the Apostle most significantly expresses it, 'shut up unto the faith;' he is reduced to it as his only alternative; he makes the atonement of the cross his resting-place; he closes with Christ—derives all strength and nourishment from Him, as the 'branch does from the vine.' The high tone of rectitude will not be chilled, but exalted at this step of the process. It will derive new energy from sentiments to which it was formerly a stranger—the confidence of success, the hope of the promised assistance, and the actual operation of that assistance on our hearts, redeeming them from all iniquity. 'He that willeth to do the will of God shall know of this doctrine whether it cometh from God.' A will and an ambition to be perfect, if firmly and consistently proceeded upon, will lead us

to the humiliating acknowledgment, that in ourselves we are helpless and irrecoverable sinners. It will bring us to the foot of the cross, and lead us to take to 'Christ as our power and wisdom and sanctification and complete redemption.'—Yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"DUNDEE, *December* 8, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—* * * My letters to you are not a faithful picture of my general situation, for they are naturally the effusions of my better moments, and they of course wear an air of peace and of progress to which I cannot as yet lay claim. I have indeed never possessed hours of so unportioned bliss and serenity as some since I began to cleave to Christianity; for I can say, even now, that my most religious hours are my happiest; but they have hitherto been separated by periods of horrible disquietude and distrust. Sometimes I relapse into coldness and indifference, which, after a few struggles, leave me in a state of stupid torpor,—a state of rest which arises from the absence of all tendency,—a state of conscious petrifaction. At other times I am distracted by a thousand doubts, which flit before me in undefined mazes, and obscure all my prospects. Their very want of solidity adds to their terrors; their change of shape, and their exits and their entrances, only realize more strongly the unseen world of possibilities. And even in my best moments, I am apt to be assailed by doubts distinct in their character from the former, and, if I mistake not, rightly distinguished by the term *misgivings*. It is a kind of sinking at heart from the downward glance of unusual elevation. * * * I have been hitherto such a stranger to prolonged quiet and assurance, that, when I experience the quiet and assurance of religion, I become alarmed that Christianity is too good to be true, and that its security is the fever of enthusiasm. But there is one awful consideration which peculiarly presses on

my mind, and is often like to overwhelm it. It is this:— If I am really on the right track, by what a complexity of causes am I so? * * * If my present determination to make Jesus my guide and my refuge, be the only one which can save me from eternal perdition, what an overwhelming thought, that this determination is one of a myriad of as probable contingencies! If, among the navies that darken the ocean, there be but *one* ark that shall outlive the storm, with what trembling step do I enter in,—with what tremendous ken do I inspect its identity! Such considerations are often like to overpower me. Oh, my dear Sir, unite your prayers with mine, that I may arrive at settled convictions. I pray to God to lead me to all truth, and all joy and peace in believing; but my very prayers need forgiveness. Oh, my dear Sir, if Christianity be really true, with what profound gratitude ought we to approach Almighty God for having, of His free-will, called us,—for having made so many physical and moral causes so unite as to produce our present tendencies; and with what enlarged hearts of sympathy and benevolence ought we to look around us on those who as yet 'care for none of these things?' May God continue to be gracious,—may He lead us on from strength to strength,—and may He render us instrumental in 'winning sons and daughters to righteousness.' * * *

"*Sunday, December 9th.*

"The above was written last night, when my mind was in a state of vacillancy and discomfort. I have this morning been reading my Bible, and I feel a reassurance of which I had little expectation. I begin to find the New Testament my best modulator; it alone gives that pitch to my temper which suits my existing capability. Books of devotion are accommodated to a given stage of advancement, perhaps the prevailing one of the author By perusing them, I can work

my mind up to their elevation; but the state is forced, and of necessity transient. But in my Testament I find every thing in its proper bearing. * * *

"I now begin to have a taste for its direct enforcements. I like to converse with it on the spot. I am ashamed to acknowledge that this is the most recent step in my progress. At first I used to read the precepts only; or, if I happened to turn to the doctrines, I found them so confused, and the reasoning so unintelligible, that I soon laid them aside. * * * At last, when the doctrines began to command my regard, I still liked to get at them by means of an interpreter, and was still averse from personal colloquy. This repugnance is now extinguished, and I delight in the excitement of naked contact. I now ardently desire to be able to read the original Greek with facility, and to pronounce the doctrines and precepts of Paul, and James, and Jesus, with the very *os rotundum* which originally breathed them.

"So important is the maxim, 'Drink deep, or taste not,' that I now begin to find what I considered the weakest parts of the Bible are the strongest. The obscurity of Paul, upon inspection, I find to arise out of the closeness and concatenation of his reasoning; and, above all, the want of *method and outline* in the New Testament, which lately struck me as a formidable objection, I now consider as corroborative of its peculiar character. My objection was this:—The Old Testament dispensation was more immediately of Divine origin. The tables of the law were given to Moses graven by the finger of God. The code was complete, and regular, and sacred. We hear of nothing lost,—nothing surreptitiously added; whereas the expansion of the New Testament scheme is much more fortuitous. No arm of terrors was bared to protect it; the propagators were exposed to the greatest dangers, and escaped by the greatest hazards; many of the most important precepts

were elicited by chance,—many more have not come down to us,—many miracles are unrecorded,—even whole epistles are lost; while it is by the greatest good luck that many false ones are not obtruded. All this, which I lately considered as a formidable objection, I now think a strong confirmation of the peculiar nature of Christianity. The religion of the Jews was a religion of diplomacy and legal enforcement: every thing was decided by an appeal to laws, and accordingly the laws were arranged and numbered. But the religion of Jesus is a religion of principle, suggestive, by its very nature, of a stainless morality. Accordingly, there is not the same anxiety as to its outward 'form and pressure.' The internal principle is the essential, and with this everything harmonizes: *e. g.*, the scheme was not divulged amid thunders and tempests, for persuasion is the surest appeal to the heart. Its propagators were obnoxious to ordinary mishaps, for by their endurance they enforced the principle they promulgated. False teachers made their appearance, for their detection put the principle in action. (1 John iv. 6.) The precepts were not methodized, for they flow as corollaries from the principle. This latter circumstance in Paul's writings is very remarkable. After putting the doctrine of faith on its proper basis with an elaboration and a copiousness which set him before you in all the struggles of intellect, and with an apparent dread of omitting any applicable elucidation,—after securing this point, he suddenly relaxes, and, with a great deal of *dégagement*, proceeds to throw off his miscellaneous precepts. * * * I shall expect to hear from you soon.—I am, my dear Sir, yours, JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *December* 28, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,— * * * I am charmed to understand the tranquillizing effect of the Bible upon you. Let me therefore recommend a small treatise, entitled 'Clark's Promises,' in

which he lays before you a list of all the promises annexed to particular duties, or adapted to particular situations. You have nothing of his own; it is a mere collection of texts. I lately took it up when under one of those visitations of perplexity and distrust which you describe, and it did what all my own intellectual processes were unable to accomplish—it calmed and reassured me. Among the splendid galaxy of comfort which his page of quotations laid before me, I was particularly charmed with the two following:—

"'Commit thy works unto the Lord, and thy thoughts shall be established.'—Prov. xvi. 3.

"'It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord.'—Lam. iii. 26

"Go on and prosper, my dear Sir; and my fervent prayer is, that you be 'rooted and built up in Christ, and stablished in the faith.'—Yours, with much regard,

THOMAS CHALMERS"

"DUNDEE, January 30, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I feel a lively interest on this subject; but every day brings me mortifying proofs that even zeal on religious subjects does not imply *ultimate* Christianity—the regulation of the heart and the conduct. My progress here is imperceptible, although, without such progress, I know the Bible to be a dead letter. It is easy to declaim about the cause of Christianity; but the great concern of the individual is his own soul; and I am short, far short, of that spirit which delights in the sacrifice of which the world never hears, and which does all things in the simplicity of faith in Jesus. On perusing my Journal, I am discountenanced at the vacillation, and the coldness, and the folly it exhibits, and still more that, with this record before me, I still go on to accumulate its accusations.—Yours, JAMES ANDERSON."

"KILMANY MANSE, *February* 5, 1812.

"MY DEAR SIR,— * * * I can well understand what you state to me in your last, that zeal raised by the excitement of a particular object may be found to consist with a faulty or diseased constitution of the inner man. But on the other hand, I have to state to you, that the peace and the joy and the delight attending what you have so aptly denominated the *closer intimacies* of the Christian, appear to me to be founded not on the complacency of the heart in its own virtues, but on the confiding repose of an humble and acquiescing spirit when it commits all to the sufficiency of Christ its Saviour. It is peace and joy *in believing*. Its plea is not that its sins are few, but that the mercies of God in Christ are great. The rejoicing of its hope lies not in its own attainments, but in the frankness and kindness and liberality of the invitation. Where sin abounded, grace much more abounds; and the giving up of all in quiet and thankful confidence to a Mediator and High Priest, forms the starting-point from which I date its only sure and effectual progress in the accomplishments of the Christian. I see all this, though, like yourself, I have not attained to it. I do not yet *hold fast* my confidence; but I pray both in your behalf and in my own, that we may, in the good time of an all-wise God, reach this most desirable consummation. In the mean time, 'it is good for a man to hope and quietly to wait for the salvation of the Lord.'

"I conclude with an extract from Baxter. He is treating of an extreme case, though both of us perhaps may feel in some degree the application to ourselves:—

" 'As we have need to call the thoughts of careless sinners *inwards*, and turn them from the creature and sin upon themselves; so we have need to call the thoughts of self-perplexing melancholy persons *outwards*, for it is their disease to be still grinding upon themselves. * * * When you are poring on

your hearts to search whether the love of God be there or no, it were wiser to be thinking of the infinite amiableness of God, and that will cause it whether it were there before or not. So, instead of poring on your hearts to know whether they are set on heaven, lift up your thoughts to heaven, and think of its glory, and that will raise them thither, and give you and shew you that which you were searching for. Bestow that time in planting holy desires in the garden of your heart which you bestow in routing and puzzling yourselves in searching whether it be there already. We are such dark confused things, that a sight of ourselves is enough to raise a loathing and horror in our minds, and make them melancholy. But in God and glory there is nothing to discourage our thoughts, but all to delight them if Satan do not misrepresent them to us.'

"So far Baxter. My prayer to God is for your soul's health. I long to see you; and in the mean time rest assured, that my friendship and correspondence with you fill up a mighty space in the circle of my concerns.—Yours most truly,

THOMAS CHALMERS."

In the course of a few months Mr. Anderson's religious convictions became so strong, and his zeal so irrepressible, that he resolved to relinquish business, and devote himself to the Christian ministry. With the view of preparing for the sacred office, he repaired to Edinburgh, and in the session of 1812-13, enrolled himself as a student of moral philosophy. It was only the third winter after the appointment of Dr. Thomas Brown as Mr. Stewart's successor, and the excitement had not yet subsided which attended the first delivery of that brilliant course of lectures, in which the most subtile metaphysical analysis robed itself in the drapery of a most fascinating eloquence. Mr. Anderson's excitable spirit was thrown into the tumults of

a new, and, in some respects, conflicting mental agitation. Rushing with eager footstep into the fresh regions of speculation which were open to him, he even pressed beyond the boundaries which his new guide had traced. His genius had earned for him the highest university honours, and raised the brightest expectations both of his eminence in society and usefulness in the Church; but, although he still survives, it pleased God to disappoint these hopes by one of those sovereign and distressful dispensations of His providence, for the full explanation of which we must wait "till time is exhausted, and we can look back on these scenes of struggle from the realms of security."

CHAPTER XI.

REGULAR AND EARNEST STUDY OF THE BIBLE—FORMATION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY—CONSTITUTION OF THE KILMANY BIBLE ASSOCIATION—THE ACCUMULATION OF LITTLES—JOURNAL OF 1812—HIS MARRIAGE.

RICHARD BAXTER, who at this period was a favourite author with Mr. Chalmers, has left behind him this impressive testimony—"To tell you the truth, while I busily read what other men said in their controversies, my mind was so prepossessed with their notions, that I could not possibly see the truth in its own native and naked evidence; and when I entered into public disputations, though I was truly willing to know the truth, my mind was so forestalled with borrowed notions, that I chiefly studied how to make good the opinions which I had received, and ran farther from the truth. Yea, when I read the truth, I did not consider and understand it; and when I heard it from them whom I opposed in wrangling disputations, or read it in books of controversy, I discerned it least of all; till at last, being in my sickness cast far from home, where I had no book but my Bible, I set myself to study the truth from thence; and so, by the blessing of God, discovered more in one week than I had done before in seventeen years' reading, hearing, and wrangling."

His own intuitive sagacity suggested to Mr. Chalmers what experience had taught Baxter. From the beginning of his religious course, he was most sensitively afraid lest the truth, as God had revealed it, should come to him distorted

or mutilated, because coming in the form in which it was presented by human systems or in theological controversies. His primary and most earnest effort was to derive his Christianity immediately from the Divine Oracles—to lay his whole being broadly open—to take off from the sacred page the exact and the full impression of Divine truth, in the very forms and proportions in which it was there set forth. Early in the year upon which we are now entering, we find him writing to his younger brother Patrick:—"I have been too long of answering your letter, from the perusal of which I obtained the truest satisfaction. It would give me great pleasure to hear that you had read the books recommended in my last, and how you liked them. I look upon Baxter and Doddridge as two most impressive writers, and from whom you are most likely to carry away the impression that a preparation for eternity should be the main business and anxiety of time. But, after all, the Bible should be the daily exercise of those who have decidedly embarked in this great business, and if read with the earnest sense and feeling of its being God's message—if perused with the same awe, and veneration, and confidence, as if the words were actually coming out of His mouth—if, while you read, you read with the desire and the prayer that it might be with understanding and profit, you are in a far more direct road to 'becoming wise unto salvation' than any other that can possibly be recommended to you. There is no subject on which people are readier to form rash opinions than religion. The Bible is the best corrective to these. A man should sit down to it with the determination of taking his lesson just as he finds it,—of founding his creed upon the sole principle of 'Thus saith the Lord,' and deriving his every idea and his every impression of religious truth from the authentic record of God's will."*

* From a Letter dated May 21, 1812.

His regular and earnest study of the Bible was one of the first and most noticeable effects of Mr. Chalmers' conversion. His nearest neighbour and most frequent visitor was old John Bonthron, who, having once seen better days, was admitted to an easy and privileged familiarity, in the exercise of which one day before the memorable illness, he said to Mr. Chalmers—"I find you aye busy, sir, with one thing or another, but come when I may, I never find you at your studies for the Sabbath." "Oh, an hour or two on the Saturday evening is quite enough for that," was the minister's answer. But now the change had come, and John, on entering the manse, often found Mr. Chalmers poring eagerly over the pages of the Bible. The difference was too striking to escape notice, and with the freedom given him, which he was ready enough to use, he said, "I never come in now, sir, but I find you aye at your Bible." "All too little, John, all too little," was the significant reply.

How much time was devoted to this study the earlier journals do not enable us to ascertain. On the 29th September of this year he makes the following entry:—"I finished this day my perusal of the New Testament by daily chapters, in which my object was to commit striking passages to memory. I mean to begin its perusal anew, in which this object shall be revised, and the object of fixing upon one sentiment of the chapter for habitual and recurring contemplation through the day shall be added to the former." I have inserted in the Appendix a list of the passages which were selected for daily meditation.*

That he might come into immediate contact with the truth in the very words in which it was first made known, he recommenced his study of the Greek and Hebrew languages. "I visited him," says his old neighbour, Mr. Smith, "in the year 1811. At that time he informed me that he had determined to devote three years to the study of the New Testament in

* See Appendix I.

the original language, and he asked me what were the books best adapted to give him assistance, his knowledge of that class of books being then but limited. As his zeal was burning with a pure and ardent flame, I have little doubt that he put into execution the resolution which he had formed." The Journal which follows tells how the purpose was fulfilled.

At the very time when Mr. Chalmers came to know the power and preciousness of the sacred volume, the enthusiasm on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had been instituted a few years before, was at its height. "The men who then lived are now rapidly passing away, but those who yet survive certainly owe it to themselves, in connexion with the generations they are so soon to leave, to inform them fully of the deep sensation then felt, and the joy with which the simple proposal respecting the sacred volume was then hailed throughout the kingdom. * * * The formation of this Society produced an effect altogether unprecedented; indeed the mere announcement ran throughout every denomination in the kingdom, and conveyed an impulse at once the most powerful and the most extensive under which the Christians of this country had ever come."*

It was the first great Christian enterprise which won the sympathies and enlisted the public advocacy of Mr. Chalmers. In design so simple and comprehensive,—to take the pure and unmixed seed of the word, and scatter it wide as the human family; in spirit so Catholic,—offering a common meeting-ground to all Protestant Christendom, the first presented since the days of the Reformation—an evangelical alliance of the widest scope, and with a distinct and definite work to do,—the Bible Society "rose in his estimation as the most magnificent scheme that ever was instituted for bettering the moral condition of the species." A glow of delighted anticipation was kindled over the pages which

* Annals of the English Bible, by Christopher Anderson, vol. ii. p. 60.

described its rapid progress and brightening prospects—a glow which he thus sought at once to express and to communicate. "The whole surface of England is in a blaze of enthusiasm; the Society already enrols among her children the purest, the most enlightened, the most venerable names in our sister Establishment; she is drawing around her all that is great in the politics, and all that is liberal in the theology of England. The nobles of the land are throwing in their splendid donations, and the poor widow is casting her mite into the treasury of Christian beneficence. The Bible Society of London has given an impulse to the whole population of Christendom; and the general demand is for the law and for the testimony. Every eye is withdrawing from the paltry modifications of sect and of system, and pointing to that light which beams pure and unvitiated from the original sources of inspiration. To have circulated the book of God in 127 languages—to have put no less than two millions and a half copies in the hands of the great human family—to have originated many new translations, and to have revived or put into fresh circulation many old ones—to have sent forth emissaries to every quarter of the globe, and that, too, at the very time when the din of hostility was loud among the nations—to have found a way for its peaceful embassies among all the regions which they occupy—to have plied its enterprise with so much vigour when war rung its alarms all over Europe—to have made its silent progress, and moved on magnificently in the prosecution of its great task, when the panorama of armies, and fleets, and shifting monarchies, was fastening almost every eye, and the general mind of the world was nearly all taken up with the strife and the eagerness of its restless politics:*—these are noble doings,

* It was while England was at war with Holland, Spain, France, and America, that the first Bible Society was formed: a very limited association, confining itself exclusively to the object of providing our own soldiers and sailors with the word of life. The first ship among whose crew the Scriptures were thus distributed was

and to my eye they constitute one of the [illegible] posing spectacles in the moral history of the species."

And it was not to mere eloquent expressions that his advocacy was confined. While striving in the pulpit and through the press, at county meetings, and before church-courts, to vindicate the cause of the Bible Society, and to raise it above reproach, his chief efforts were directed to the establishment of parochial associations. Impressed both by the principle and the results of a system of penny-a-week subscriptions, which had been recently pursued by the "Aberdeen Female Servants' Society for promoting the diffusion of the Scriptures,"* admiring this system as one which brought in every class of the community as contributors, and had already proved itself to be pre-eminently productive, he resolved to apply it to his own parish, and to recommend it in every quarter where his influence could effectively be employed. When the Kilmany Bible Association was formed, the subscriptions were strictly limited to a penny-a-week,—those who desired to give more doing it, either in the way of donation, or

the Royal George, which had 400 copies of the Society's Bibles on board "when Kempenfelt went down with twice four hundred men" The British and Foreign Bible Society was instituted in 1804 At the bombardment of Copenhagen, two shells entered the buildings which contained many thousand copies of the Scriptures, supplied by the London Society These buildings were nearly burnt to the ground— that part only escaping in which the Bibles were deposited The Bibles which so narrowly escaped were destined for Iceland, an island in the strange condition of having 50,000 inhabitants, nearly all of whom could read and write, yet almost entirely without printed books, the want being supplied by transcription When the British Society turned their attention to it, they found that there were not fifty Bibles in the island "It is a singular circumstance in the history of European literature, that letters highly flourished in Iceland between the 10th and 14th century At a period when every art and science seemed to be expelled from the continent, they still continued to exist in no inconsiderable degree in this barren and inhospitable island. The first edition of the Bible in Icelandic is said to have been finished in the 15th century, and if so, they enjoyed this precious treasure in their own tongue previous to any nation in modern Europe."—Second Report of the Edinburgh Bible Society

* See Appendix K

by entering the names of different members of their families as contributors. At the very first proposal of this scheme, it was objected to it, that it was imposing a burden on the poor. In the first sermon which he preached on behalf of the Bible Society, this objection was indignantly repelled. "What," say some, "will you take from the poor?"—"No: we do not take;—it is they who give. It is you who impute to them a grossness and a want of generosity which do not belong to them. You have the indelicacy to sit in judgment on their circumstances and their feelings. It is you who think of them so unworthily, that you cannot conceive how truth and benevolence should be objects to them; and that, after they have got the meat to feed, the house to shelter, the raiment to cover them, there is nothing else that they will bestow a penny upon. They may not be able to express their feelings on a suspicion so ungenerous, but I shall do it for them.—We have souls as well as you, and precious to our hearts is the Saviour who died for them It is true we have our distresses, but these have bound us more firmly to our Bibles; and it is the desire of our hearts that a gift so precious should be sent to the poor of other countries. The word of God is our hope and our rejoicing: we desire that it may be theirs also; that the wandering savage may know it and be glad; and the poor negro, under the lash of his master, may be told of a Master in heaven who is full of pity and full of tenderness. Do you think that sympathy for such as these is your peculiar attribute? Know that our hearts are made of the same materials with your own, that we can feel as well as you, and out of the earnings of a hard and an honest industry we shall give an offering to the cause; nor shall we cease our exertions till the message of salvation be carried round the globe, and made known to the countless millions who live in guilt and who die in darkness.—Think of the poor widow, my brethren, and learn

from her that neither the exercise nor the reward of charity is confined to the higher orders of society: and, to encourage you still more to the support of the good cause, though your individual offering be small, the number of individuals among you is great, and the accumulation of your littles will form into a mightier sum than all the united gifts that the rich have yet thrown into the treasury. What, do you not know that a penny-a-week from each householder in Britain amounts to half a million of pounds sterling in the year, and that this is a sum larger by sixteen times than any yearly income which the Bible Society has received from its wealthy and numerous subscribers? Yes, my brethren, though much has been done, there is much to do; and you, by the steadiness with which you keep up your liberality, by your not being weary in this work of well-doing, by the manly and Christian perseverance with which you hold fast by so righteous a cause, by the example which you maintain of a vigorous and well-conducted system, may not only extend the number of subscribers to your own society, but may encourage the formation of similar institutions in the neighbourhood around you. I long to see the day, nor do I despair of seeing it, when every parish shall have a Christian society,—when not a district of the land shall be left uncultivated, but shall yield a produce to the cause of the Saviour,—when these lesser streams shall form into a mighty torrent to carry richness and fertility into the dry and desolate regions of the world,—and when Britain, high in arms and in political influence, shall earn a more permanent glory, by being the dispenser of light and power, and the message of Heaven to the remotest nations."

But to trace his progress, let us now return to the Journal of 1812:

"*Sunday, January 5th*, 1812.—Went over to Balmerino after

breakfast, and preached. Dined at Naughton; and gave the evening to Sabbath exercises, though a good deal intermingled with worldly subjects.—O God, make me wise and useful in conversation, and, above all, improve my gift of prayer; and give me a power and a variety of expression to suit all cases, and correspond to all the different sentiments of faith and piety. Must aim at the improvement of this faculty; and I implore the blessing of heaven upon the endeavour.

"*January 6th.*—I am out of all patience with Macknight, who is really a most tedious and heavy writer.

"*January 7th.*—I mean to give my main strength this year to the composition of sermons.

"*January 8th.*—I am always pleased with Macknight when he assumes the capacity of a Scripture critic in his 'Credibility.' His exposition of some prophecies in the Revelation is highly interesting, though perhaps a little fanciful, and too far pursued in some things.

"*January 9th.*—Understand that a Bible Society has been formed at Rathillet; and this is in several respects a very interesting trial, on various principles, to myself. I had conferred with Mr. Johnston* previously upon the subject, and there was great apparent frankness and cordiality betwixt us; there was latterly, however, a falling off from this, and it has terminated in the institution of a separate society, without my knowing, or being at all consulted about it. This want of confidence is unpleasant, and tends to affect my personal feelings of friendship towards Mr. Johnston. At the same time, I must make allowances for the peculiar footing on which he stands with his people; and the fact that his people were greatly more disposed towards the measure than mine, must form a great abatement to those unpleasant feelings which arise from Mr. Johnston's desire to secure a credit and a distinction in the

* The minister of the Secession Church at Rathillet.

business which he was so far entitled to. So much for the question, as it affects us individually. But let this never be an obstruction in the way of public utility; and in as far as my future attempts for the Bible Society are concerned, I do think that this separate society gives a sectarian form to the thing, which must operate to its prejudice. What we ought to have done should have been to frame our regulations, and choose our office-bearers in concert. It should have appeared at the very outset as a liberal and catholic combination—that would have served as an effectual example to other parishes. The members of a meeting-house combining to form such a society, does not form that kind of example. Let me, therefore, wait the progress of events. The great point is to serve the institution in the most effectual manner. If, in point of fact, there is a general disposition to support the society in the present form, good and well; if not, a parish society may still be formed—and a greater fund is raised, I believe, from a number of separate institutions than from a general one. Let me further reflect that I have not been so zealous or active as Mr. Johnston—that I have not the title to claim distinction in this business, and that soreness on this ground should be done away. In the mean time, let me be guarded and mild; and I pray God for grace to help me *in the time of need.* Finished Macknight's 'Credibility,' and began Paley's 'Horæ Paulinæ.'

"*January* 10*th.*—Mr Johnston called. He has chosen all the office-bearers out of his own people; and I insisted on the sectarian complexion which was thus given to the whole affair. It has landed me in some perplexity.

"*Sunday, January* 12*th.*—Preached as usual. Mr. Morton came upon me before sermon, dined, and left me in the evening. I asked Mr. Bonthron, Mr. Edie, and Robert to dine along with him. I am not altogether satisfied with this;—bad in point of example; and, oh! at what a distance from the themes

of the eternal Sabbath was the conversation of our company.—O God, give light and direction from on high. I pray for a continued direction of mind to the things of eternity.

"*January 15th*—Married my dear Jane to Mr. Morton. Breakfasted in Anster, and rode in cavalcade to Mrs. Morton's, Flisk, where we dined: but I was so overpowered with drowsiness, and had so little sleep last night, that I was in a state of perfect apathy.

"*January 20th*—Had a numerous marriage-party to dinner; and kept it up with music and dancing to betwixt one and two in the morning. Was in a divided state of purpose about family worship in the former part of the day, and had it not in the evening.

"*January 23d*—I took a hurried adieu of my dear Jane, whose departure from Kilmany threw me into repeated fits of tenderness."

The tenderness of this adieu was greatly heightened by the thought of the distance to which his favourite sister was about to be withdrawn. Mr. Morton's family lived in the neighbouring parish of Flisk; but he had himself resided for some years in England, and had now settled near Dulverton, in Somersetshire. But in Mr. Chalmers' regrets our readers will scarcely share, inasmuch as this separation originated that most familiar and most affectionate correspondence by which our following pages will be largely enriched. For some time before her marriage, his sister had been in very delicate health, and he trembled for the effect of all the visiting which awaited her in Scotland, followed by the fatigue of a tedious journey of three or four days' length. He was especially apprehensive of Edinburgh, where he could reckon up no less than six-and-thirty cousins. To give her the full benefit of the principle,—forewarned, forearmed,—he wrote to her a few days after her marriage:—"Would

it not be well that your visit to St. John Street were of as private and domestic a nature as possible; and could not a previous letter to Mr. and Mrs. Cowan make it be understood by all your friends that as your main object was to get forward with as little fatigue and exhaustion as possible, you would confine yourself to receiving calls, and entreat them to save you the fatigue of having large parties at their house on your account? I beg it to be understood all along that every thing I advance is in the humble form of a suggestion. I have therefore further to state it to you, as my opinion, that there is the greatest call upon you to keep on the defence against the exactions of those who will multiply days and dinners upon you, though your health, and convenience, and substantial enjoyment should perish in this wretched round of insignificance and folly. After Mr. Morton left me, I fell in again with Mr. Gillespie, who said the most civil things of you, apologized for not including you in his invitation to Mr. Morton, asked if I could name a day for you dining at Mountquhannie, and said that Mrs. Gillespie would call, if she knew the when and the where. I took it upon me to evade all their civilities in the most graceful manner possible; and with that attention to one's real wishes which ever accompanies true politeness, he surrendered his proposal to our accommodation, and did not, like people who have nothing of politeness but its heartless exterior, fasten himself upon you like a horse-leech till he had got the thing out of you that he wanted. By the way, you will perceive that it does not lie within the limits of human strength to comply with every invitation. Do you your uttermost, you will leave people disappointed, or, to speak more correctly, affecting to be disappointed. Since people then are sure to be disappointed at all events, is it not worth all the difference between taking things easily and overstraining matters, just to make the number of these people a little greater than you at

one time counted on? Mr. Morton will forgive all this interference. He will put it to the true account—my love for you, and my ardent wish to remove every obstacle to your comfort."

A few days after this letter was written, the intelligence reached Anstruther and Kilmany that the Court of Session had granted a much smaller augmentation of his stipend than he had anticipated. Knowing the affectionate interest which Mrs. Morton took in this affair, he wrote to her at Anstruther:—" As it is very likely that your disappointment was greater than my own, I hasten to mitigate the pain thereof by assuring you, that though the augmentation granted be considerably less than I expected, I, upon the whole, feel quietly and pleasurably thereanent. It is true I have got £60 a year less than I asked and had some reason to look for, but then it is £60 a year more than I at present enjoy. The only effect then of this decreet of the Court of Teinds is, that it has added to my determination not to marry, and in so far I am obliged to them. I never intended to save money, and with my income as it is, I shall be able to live easily, indulge in a good many literary expenses, and command an occasional jaunt to London. My agent advises a reclaiming petition—a sort of last effort for a greater augmentation, and I believe that I shall make the experiment." The making of the experiment carried him to Edinburgh a short time before his sister's arrival. "My object in writing at present," he says in a letter to her, dated 1st February, " is to inform you that the scarlet fever has broken out in Mr. Cowan's of the Canongate. I supped in St. John Street, and the near connexion of the two houses and families did not occur to me; but it occurs to me now, and I think that you should write to Mr. Alexander Cowan, and take his friendly opinion upon the propriety of your exposing yourself and Helen to infection. It would be the very perfection of false

politeness if Mr. Cowan were kindly and hospitably to insist on his dear and much loved friends to take up their abode with him, and, even though a scarlet fever should be the consequence, to look upon that as a mere bagatelle in the way of those established gentilities whose claims nothing can be suffered to supersede. He is too sensible a fellow, however, for that, and I am happy to think that parties either within or without doors are not particularly wished for in the present instance. I met the ——, and they insist upon your not using the Edinburgh folk ill. I would rather undertake to eat one of Andrew Gray's fat bullocks in a month than be forced to eat my way for a month through the invitations of this multitude whom no man can number. Give my compliments to papa, mamma, brothers, sisters, aunt, and if there be any cousins or second cousins within the reach of your hearing, you may offer the kindest expressions from me My voice, when tuned to the subject of cousins, is something like Charles' bagpipe, softened by distance." The formidable visit was rendered not only a harmless but most agreeable one, through the kind consideration of his relatives in Edinburgh. Mr Chalmers accompanied the marriage party as far as Carlisle, and on reaching Kilmany, wrote to Mr. Morton:—"I waited in Edinburgh till I learned the fate of my reclaiming petition. It was given against me. * * * I left Edinburgh on the Thursday, and, by the way, you may tell Jane that I wrote to Mr. Cowan from Hawick, that I called on the ——s, that I had two charming tête-a-têtes at St. John Street; and, in a word, that I did not leave Edinburgh till I had succeeded in re-establishing the most entire cordiality of my feelings with every cousin and second cousin that I got within scent of." We have, however, somewhat anticipated the Journal, to which we must return.

"*January 24th.*—The decisive information at length came that I had only got three chalders of augmentation where I

asked and had some reason to look for six. Let me struggle against the disappointment. O God, give me that great gain which lies in godliness with contentment. In waiting for the intelligence, I disappointed a party who expected me at an examination. This must never be repeated.—O God, save me from dreaming indolence—from unproductive reverie—from delusive procrastination—from languor, heartlessness, or discouragement in the great work of gaining sons and daughters unto righteousness.

"*Sunday, February 9th.*—Preached for Mr. Thomson this afternoon in the New Greyfriars. Dined at Mr Thomson's with Dr. Fleming.

"*February 10th.*—Breakfasted in Mr. Cowan's. Went to the Lancaster School on the Calton Hill with Mr. Andrew Thomson. Left Edinburgh in the coach for Carlisle with the marriage party. Supped at Hawick, and wrote a hurried letter to Dr. Charters. Arrived at Carlisle by six in the morning next day. While I transport myself to this new scene and this new situation, let me carry all my habitual principles along with me, and think that it is the same God who reigns over all, and the same Son of God by whom the worlds were created. O God, let me never be thrown off my guard by fatigue, or variety, or anything that threatens to loosen the reign of principle in my heart.

"*February 13th.*—Sauntered all forenoon with Dr. Charters. There is a greater want of congeniality betwixt me and the Doctor than formerly, though still I can perceive that there is a substantial agreement of opinion upon a number of points. We are not called upon to judge, but we are called upon to have the charity which believeth all things. Am reading in the 'Life of Baxter,' by himself.

"*February 14th.*—Dined and spent another congenial evening with Dr. Charters. I would fain hope that vital Christianity has influence and operation on those minds which appear to

me under the disguise of a language and mode of conception that differ essentially from my own.

"*Sunday, February 16th.*—Preached at Wilton, and my principles on the incompetency of reason to decide upon the subject of revelation from previous and independent materials of its own, are evidently most troublesome and offensive to Dr. Charters. I was commented on with passion and severity in the evening; and while this opposition on his part establishes my opinion as to the insecurity of his speculations, let me also convert it into a trial of principle and charity. I feel more and more my deficiency considered as a candidate for heaven.—O God, may my soul and its interest be the uppermost considerations of my heart. Sanctify me by Thy Spirit. Call me effectually. Work in me the work of faith with power. May this faith work by love, and may the love yield obedience. O God, perfect in me the faith, the repentance, and the new obedience of the gospel.—I am delighted with the Doctor's parish library, and have some floating conceptions of a similar institution in my parish. Let me not implicate myself by any vow. Let me wait quietly the progress of events; and in the mean time, O my God, fill me with charity and zeal for good works.

"*February 19th.*—My reclaiming petition thrown out this day, and a final end put to all my hopes of a greater augmentation. Extinguish all covetousness, and let patience and goodwill have their perfect work in my heart.

"*February 21st.*—Was powerless all day. Had intended to prepare myself for the opening of the Dundee Bible Society on Monday, but was quite incapable.—'You may tell Jane that such has been the effect of James Anderson's communications relative to a Bible Society, that a general meeting of the inhabitants was held in Dundee on Monday last, and a most respectable association formed. I have done nothing yet in my small way, but I have no doubt that an institution

will soon be formed in the parish. I see that they are forming at a prodigious rate in England. I wish you could get Buchanan's 'Christian Researches in India' to your library at Dulverton. It is, in the first place, a most entertaining book; and in point of incident, adventure, variety, and agreeable information, possesses all the attractions of a book of travels of the very first stamp; and in the second place, it leaves a most decided impression in favour of Bible Societies, and lets you into the entire practicability of throwing in Christianity among the half-civilized nations of Asia. I know not a book better calculated to rescue these societies from all those imputations of fanaticism which have been so plentifully thrown upon them both in this neighbourhood and in other parts of the island. * * * I have been left to myself since I came here, and am strongly disposed to persist in this scheme of solitude. I shall be happy to see friends at all times, but what Jane understands me to allude to is, that I am determined that no wife shall break in upon the quietness of my retirement. This is a subject on which she and I have all along differed.'—Extract from letter to Mr. Morton, dated 29th February.

"*Sunday, March* 1*st.*—Preached as usual. Alexander Paterson, who called on me yesterday, called on me to-night also. He tells me that he has obtained more comfort, and gives me very cheering accounts of the growth of seriousness among his acquaintances. I had a very near and intimate perception of my Saviour this evening, and felt, what I have long been in want of, joyful communion with God. O Heavenly Father, keep me alive to Thee through Jesus Christ, and may the love of Thee be shed abroad in my heart by the Holy Ghost.

"*March* 11*th.*—Had a letter from Dr. Charters full of misconception about my sermon, which is evidently matter of offence to him.

"*March 12th.*—Recurred to vigorous composition. I am reading the 'Life of Doddridge,' and am greatly struck with the quantity of business which he put through his hands. O God, impress upon me the value of time, and give regulation to all my thoughts and all my movements. I abandon plans, and cast my care on Him who cares for me. May I be strong in faith, instant in prayer, high in my sense of duty, and vigorous in the execution of it. When I detect myself in unprofitable reverie, let me make an instant transition from dreaming to doing.

"*March 13th.*—Started at seven, and composed a great deal both in the morning and forenoon. Felt the tension of perpetual solitude and hard study.

"*March 14th.*—I am much impressed with the reality and important business style of Doddridge's intercourse with God. O Heavenly Father! convert my religion from a name to a principle. Bring all my thoughts and movements into a habitual reference to Thee. May I call on Thy name, in deed and reality, that I may be saved.

"*March 16th.*—Have carried my Journal to the termination of a second year, and from its varying complexion, it appears that there lies a vast and indefinite field before me—much to aspire after in love to God, in the steadiness of my faith, in the clearness of my views, in the Christian purity of my conduct. O God, may I build a right superstructure on a right foundation. May I make mention of that name than which there is none other given under heaven whereby men can be saved. Work in me that which is well-pleasing in Thy sight, and make me altogether a new creature in Christ Jesus my Lord. Recall me from my habitual estrangement; correct the miserable wanderings of my heart; form Christ in me, and may He be to me the anchor of hope, and the steady unfailing principle of sanctification. O Lord, give me to be cleansed more and more.

Seal me as one of Thine own, and naming the name of Jesus, may I depart from iniquity.

"My health last year was variable. But I fall miserably short of what I might do and ought to do. The following is a list of my performances:—

"Read Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies; Prideaux's Connection; M'Knight's Credibility of the Gospel; Baxter's Call to the Unconverted; Scott's Marmion; Hannah More's Practical Piety; Life of Matthew Henry; Buchanan's Researches; Buchanan's Sermons; Doddridge's Life by Orton; and Paley's Horæ Paulinæ.

"In addition to my ordinary supplies for the pulpit, wrote last part of my review of Hints upon Toleration; the last part of my performance on Christianity; a speech for Dr. Playfair, part of which I delivered at the Synod; a sermon on Hebrews vi. 19; another on Luke x. 26; another on Romans xv. 1; and about two sheets of devotional composition. In all about seventeen sheets, a very small proportion indeed.

"Read more than the New Testament in English, and the Greek to the end of the Acts, as also a Greek grammar. At family worship read Isaiah, Psalms, Job, and Proverbs.

"Let me set more value on my time, and let my future Journal be more directed to the particular record of my way of spending it. O God, give me a more decided bent of heart to the service of Thee in Christ Jesus.

"*March* 17*th*.—Rose at eight. Spent nearly an hour in the Bible and prayer, an exercise in which I experience much wandering. Wrote for the Bible Society till half-past eleven. Spent two hours and a half in the great business of renewing my covenant with God. Walked to Kinneir. Returned at four to dinner. Translated a chapter of the Greek New Testament. Read three tracts for distribution, and had Robert Edie over to spend an hour and sup with me. Then

had a little devotional reading over Baxter's 'Practical Directory.'

"The following is the record of my dedication to God, taken in short-hand after the solemnity was over:—

"Begin with taking a view of my state previous to entering into the covenant. Find it an unsheltered and condemned state. Was convinced, but not lively in my apprehension of it, and was far short of transport or vivacity in any part of this service. Prayed that faith might be wrought in me. Thought of faith in Christ, and had some joyful moments when I thought of the promises annexed to it. Found that it was not by looking to myself, but to Jesus, that I obtained light and direction. I then thought of being sanctified by faith. This turned me to myself. I read with delight the promise of the Spirit to those who believe; but when turning to myself and to my sanctification, I felt a dulness and insipidity, and when I prayed, I did it with languor. O that I could fix a full and unqualified look upon Christ,—there lies efficacy and comfort and sanctification. After this I made my dedication. I counted the cost of it, and perhaps underrated the difficulties of the Christian warfare. I concluded with a solemn dedication of myself to God as my Sovereign, to Christ as my Saviour, and to the Holy Ghost as my Sanctifier, and prayed for strength and direction and support from on high that I may be enabled to keep my vows to the Lord. Rose in comfort and peace. Let me bear up, hold fast Christ, even though He should be clouded from me; confess Him with the mouth to be the only Saviour, feel Him to be my anchor, and never, never let Him go.

"*March 19th.*—Let me not record all my performances through the day. This leads to repetition. The deviations from the regular system do better for being recorded.

"*March 23d.*—Had a most agreeable letter from Mr. Gillespie relative to the Bible Society. Though I feel serene and

assured on the subject of reconciliation with God, my mind does not employ itself sufficiently in thinking of Him and rejoicing in Him.

"*March 24th.*—I wrote again for the Bible Society, and have begun Calvin's Institutes in Latin.

"*March 26th.*—Walked to Logie, where I missed Mr. Melvil. Understand from Mrs. Melvil that he has spoken to some of his people about the Bible Society. I have been in some degree of heaviness for some time under the suspicion of coldness and resentment on the part of my brethren for my operations in this line. A few days will bring it all out; and let me observe whether in this instance also the reality comes up to, or falls short of the anticipation. There are two verses in the Bible which comprise the whole morale of a man's conduct in these circumstances,—'Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong;' 'Let all your things be done with charity.'

"*Sunday, March 29th.*—Preached as usual. Mr. Gray of Dundee and Misses Balfour of Dundee in the church. Spent an evening of entire solitude. I perhaps give too much of my Sabbath evening to reading, and too little in the way of direct intercourse with God. I should have my pulpit preparations in a state of readiness by Saturday night, so that the whole of Sunday morning may be devotionally spent. Have begun to give family prayers on the Sunday morning.

"*April 6th.*—Spent a devotional forenoon, which was in part interrupted, and of which the following is the record:—

"Begun at twelve. Was fatigued and feverish, but my emotions pleasurable, and I did obtain a nearness to God. Prayed for my sanctification in general terms. Read the Bible and Clarke's 'Promises,' and descended in my next prayer to the particular duties. Mr. C. interrupted me, and I felt that my mind was wholly in business while he was present. When he left me

I felt the infirmity, and recurred, as my next topic of pious and aspiring meditation, to my peculiar business as a minister. Have not that lively repentance for my past misconduct and negligence that I would like; but let me press on to the things that are before. Prayed to God that He would make me an able minister of the New Testament. My physical sensations partook of the pleasurable delirium of an incipient fever, but I trust that my confidence is building upon God in Christ, and that my dependence is upon the Spirit, as the revealed instrument by which I am made to apply the remedy, and to go on in the sanctification of the gospel. Let me not be high-minded, but fear. Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall. At two o'clock I went out and visited people in the village. Returned, and offered my intercessions for parish, friends, enemies, relations, and the Church of Christ; and I pray that God would not suffer me to be deluded by the formality of an external service, but, oh settle in my heart the faith of Christ working by love. O God, give me to rejoice in Thee, and lift my affections from earth to heaven. May Thy law be my delight, and may I never shrink from the cross of discipline and duty. Purify my heart, and may the following passages be my direction and my joy:—Phil. iv. 6; Luke vi. 35.

"*April* 14*th*—Started before eight. Read a chapter of Greek. Left Kilmany on horseback for Kirkaldy. Was annoyed with the peculiarities of my horse on the road, and gave way to an old habit of vehemence on the subject. This must be carefully guarded against.* Arrived at Kirkaldy in

* What most provoked him with his horse was the frequency with which it threw him. At first he was much interested by noticing the relative length of the intervals between each fall Taking the average length, and calculating how far a dozen falls would carry him, he resolved to keep the horse till the twelfth fall was accomplished Extremely fond of such numerical adjustments, he was most faithful in observing them. In this instance, however, the tenth fall was so bad a one that his resolution gave way, and he told his servant to take the horse to the next market, and sell him forthwith. "But remember," he said, "you must con-

time to dine with the clergy. After dinner felt a diseased anxiety about my public appearances. This is selfish and unchristian. Let me prefer my brethren; and the very excellent extempore powers of business and expression manifested by many of them prove how much preference they are entitled to. Supped in the inn after the Synod. Sat till two in the morning. Let me have a savour of divine things. It was wrong to sing the song which I was requested to do. Slept in Mr. Balfour's.

"*April 15th.*—Breakfasted in Mr. Martin's. Dr. Martin spoke to me about the song of yesternight, and I thanked him. Met with forty clergy on the subject of the Bible Society. Things went on harmoniously. I animadverted on the home supplies, and what I said was approved of. I still hanker too much after the praise of men, and am carried away by the love of distinction.

"KILMANY MANSE, *April* 21, 1812

"I went to Kirkaldy to the Synod on the 14th, and we had a meeting of forty clergymen on Tuesday the 15th, for the formation of a Fife Bible Society. To render this society as productive as possible, every encouragement is held out to the formation of parish societies, dependent on the county one. There is one formed at Anster, and one at Kilmany, and I believe four more in different parts of the country. We have no less than 160 subscribers, which, at a penny-a-week, comes to £35 a year. If the same proportion were followed all over the county,

ceal none of its faults;" and going through the formidable enumeration, he closed by bidding him be sure to tell that it had ten times thrown its present master. "But who," exclaimed the other, "will ever think of buying the horse if I tell all that beforehand?" "I cannot help that," said Mr. Chalmers; "I will have no deception practised, and if nobody will buy the horse, you must just bring him back again." The sale was not attempted; or, if it was, no purchaser appeared. The horse was finally transferred to his neighbour, Mr. Thomson of Balmerino, in exchange for one of Baxter's works. It served its new master quietly and faithfully for many a year; and no vicious disposition ever shewing itself, it was plausibly conjectured, that, in the first instance, the peculiarities were not so much in the horse as in the singularly restless and energetic horsemanship of its rider.

it would yield a revenue of £3000 from the single district of Fife—a sum as great as all Scotland has yet furnished. * * * I mean to be at Anster once a month; and what enables me to make this out is a horse purchased for me by Mr. R. Martin, the possession of which confers an immense addition upon my locomotive faculties, as I can get to Anster now in four hours. * * * In the other column I give you a short poem of James Anderson's, published in the Dundee newspaper—An Address to the Members of the Bible Society of London. Write it over yourself on a separate paper.

Thrice honour'd band! though poet's lyre
Have never tuned a lay to thee,
Thy silent deeds my soul inspire
Beyond poetic minstrelsy.
Thrice honour'd band! though Fame decree
Her clarion blast to triumph's son,
Yet are thy sons more dear to me
Than heroes fam'd for battles won

Far Iceland shall thy love revere
While Hecla rears her threatening steep,
And, ages hence, thy gift shall cheer
The gloom of Lapland's winter sleep,
And Russia's slaves, that hourly weep
Beneath oppression's ceaseless load,
Shall, taught by thee, in freedom keep
The hallowed day of freedom's God.

And when yon tribes have ceased to rove,
And learn'd in letter'd towns to dwell,
When cultured field and blossom'd grove
On Volga's fruitful banks shall swell—
Then oft the Calmuck sire may tell,
As round his knee his children smile,
How that dear Book they love so well,
Was sent them from the Western Isle *

"*April 22d.*—I am hesitating about my sermon for Dundee. Kept up till twelve, and awake till two. My frequent cogita-

* These lines close a letter containing an account of the Bible Society's operations in Iceland, Lapland, and Russia; and suffer loss by being disjoined from the narrative to which they refer. Perhaps the following lines which close another of

tions about the Dundee exhibition argue, I am afraid, a devotion to the praise of men. Force me wholly into Thyself, O God.

"*April 27th.*—Preached in the Cowgate. Was much fatigued, and feel the vanity of display, I am afraid. Dined with Mr. Thomson. Dr. Duncan of Ratho, and Mr. Tait of Tealing, of the party.

"*Sunday, May 3d.*—Is it right to fatigue myself thus, or soar so selfishly and ostentatiously above the capacities of my people? O God, may I make a principle of this; and preach not myself, but Christ Jesus my Lord.

"*May 5th.*—Took horse at twelve, and rode to Essie to dinner. Was fatigued, and had no interval for prayer. Spent

Mr. Anderson's communications, and which are annexed to a description of the horrors of Juggernaut, can bear the dislocation better. At any rate, they are worthy of being preserved :—

Hark ! hark ! the horrid yell !
Methought, that loosen'd fiends unfurl'd
Their banners o'er the eastern world,
And from the tented welkin hurl'd
The hissing brands of hell !
Hark ! Coromandel's bays rebound
The swelling, sinking, dying sound !
Hark ! hark ! it roars again !
I mark the mingling crowds appear;
Their thrilling thunders reach mine ear
With accents human-toned and clear—
Oh ! 'tis the voice of men :
Loud to their wooden god they raise
The clamours of polluted praise !

Soon are the rites begun :—
Before the throne foul deeds of shame
The very human shape defame,
Till Moloch's Brahmin priests proclaim
The Idol's pleasure won !
Then round their god the nations throng,
And drag his cumbrous car along.—
Nor pause the rites the while ;
For now the eager crowds adore
Some self-devoted pilgrim's gore,
And hastily their god explore,
To catch his seeming smile !
Aside—unmoved—their British lord
Surveys the deeds that gain afford.

But while such deeds are done,
Shall Scotia's darling sons survey
Our bloodless plain, our smiling Tay,
And hear our psalms on Sabbath day,
Nor pity India's son ?
Shall yon blue mountain summits be
The bounds of Scottish sympathy ?
Or, shall a Scotsman know
That his, by God's decree, the power
To sweep from earth fell Moloch's tower,
And in its stead to rear a bower
Where freshening flowers may blow :
And, knowing, dare one hour confine
The treasures of the Book Divine ?

Mr. Anderson's Letters on the Bible Society were inserted in the Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser, in the numbers for January 31, February 7, 14, March 6, 20, April 3, 10, 17, 24.—1812.

the night with Mr. Miller's family. Let me watch with perseverance for the Spirit, and feel my dependence upon it.

" *May 6th.*—Started at six. Left Mr. Miller at seven. Breakfasted at Forfar with Mr. Bruce. Rode on to Brechin, where I visited the tower, and fell in with Mr. Dow, supervisor at Montrose, who rode with me to Fettercairn. Dined by myself; and Mr. Keyden arrived in the evening. Have not yet succeeded in prevailing on Mr. K. to have family worship; and was not vigorous for devotion in the evening.

" N.B.—Where there is no time or opportunity in inns, I can set myself to the great business of intercourse with heaven on the road.

" *May 7th.*—Rode with Mr. K. first to Stonehaven, whence we walked to Dunottar Castle. Rode after dinner to Aberdeen, where we arrived to supper. Commanded an interval of time at Stonehaven, and I have to thank God for the experience that prayer and meditation have a salutary influence in keeping from gross and presumptuous sins. Let me, amid all this variety, carry along with me that all is referable to God.

" *May 8th.*—Got into bad humour with our barber this morning, and delivered myself up to unchristian peevishness and violence. Visited both colleges, and walked through the streets of Aberdeen. Left it at two, and rode to Stonehaven, where I courted my former opportunities. Dined, and had a most delightful walk up the Carron, and along the shore. I met with Mr. Thomson, minister of Fetteresso. I have much before me in the way of habitual and constant dependence on the Spirit of God, through Christ Jesus. O for the love of God shed abroad in my heart!

" *May 9th.*—Left Stonehaven after breakfast. Called on Mr. Walker at Dunottar—a pleasant, cultivated man. Rode to Glenbervie, where we were detained to dinner by Mr. Thom. Left them after dinner, and drank tea at Fordoun. Mr. Leslie,

another example of pleasant manners and cultivated information, with an apparent want of evangelical sentiment and earnest piety. A lesson to me of the value I should set upon mere unsupported urbanity and polish. Rode to Fettercairn by Drumtochty.

"*Sunday, May 10th.*—Preached all day at Fettercairn. The people very attentive in the afternoon particularly. My mind is veering more to faith in Christ as the foundation and the resting-place, though far, and very far, from that entire devotion to the things of eternity which a mind thoroughly renewed by divine grace must experience. Mr Adamson, the schoolmaster, dined with us; and it is most difficult to maintain a savour of Christianity with the people I am amongst. Let me love Thy people, O God, and court their society. Had some earnest and particular conversation with Mr. Keyden, and prevailed upon him to have family worship in the evening.—O my God, may I be washed, and sanctified, and justified, in the name of Jesus Christ, and by the Spirit of our God

"*May 11th.*—After breakfast wrote half a sermon for my people. Rode to the Burn with Mr. Keyden, where I was much pleased with the banks of the North Esk. Drank tea with Mr. Adamson, and resisted their proposal for punch after it with a degree of ill humour. The state of my health was not favourable to complacency; but, O God, may I struggle against all that is physical and earthly. Found myself in an unfavourable state for devotion in the evening; and most unluckily neglected the proper time for urging family worship upon Mr. Keyden. Did not insist till after supper, when he urged that it was too late. I am far, and very far, from watching for the Spirit, with all perseverance.—O my God, I pray, in the name of that good Saviour whom Thou hast revealed, that Thou wouldest complete the sanctification of my heart.

"*May 12th.*—Started at eight. Rode to Castletown to

breakfast. Am delighted to find, from the testimony of the Brodies, that Dr. Leslie is a great favourite in his parish, and a subscriber to the Bible Society. When I came home I composed a little of my sermon, and spent the remainder of the forenoon with Mr. Keyden in a little miscellaneous business. After dinner, rode to the top of Cairney Mount; and was in closer alliance with Christ through the evening than I had been for some time, though, O God, how distant, upon the whole. O may the great end of Christ's dying, the just for the unjust, be speedily accomplished in me, viz., to bring me unto God. Got family worship performed again at Mr. Keyden's, and am delighted to hear him say that he intends to continue the system.

"*May* 13*th.*—Started before five. Went on to Montrose with Mr. Keyden, where we breakfasted. Left Montrose at eleven. Called in at Marytown, from which place Mr. Ferguson walked with us for about half an hour. Took the old road to Dundee, and, with the exception of a blunder which took us about four miles out of the way, got on most pleasantly by Carmylie and Monikie. Fed our horses at Monikie, and dined at a house within seven miles of Dundee. We arrived, after a long ride of forty-five miles, about half-past nine. A sense of divine things was not constantly or affectingly present with me all this day. O my God, sanctify, and guide, and uphold me.

"*Sunday, May* 24*th.*—Intimated my sacrament this day. I am now preaching on the sacrifice, from Romans iii. 24, 25, and have to bless God for the near and confident and satisfying views that I obtained this evening of the great remedy. I feel that a firm prospect of heaven is a sanctifying sentiment; and let me never cease to pray for the Spirit to make good my sanctification.

"*May* 27*th.*—Visited Mrs. D. and R. D. I am deficient

in the article of conversation on these occasions. O that I could get fairly into contact with the souls of my parishioners!

"*May* 30*th.*—How grateful should I be to God for health and activity, and delicious weather. O may I not be idle, but may it be my meat and my drink to do the will of God.

"*June* 1*st*—Rose at eight. Spent the forenoon in devotion, of which the following is the record:—Invocation for God's blessing and direction upon the exercise. Feel the force of God's entreaty and His command to believe in Christ, and am elevated by a joyful confidence. Read the promises to prayer, and prayed for acceptance through Christ, and general sanctification. Not rapturously near, but feel serene and confident. Prayed for knowledge, for the understanding, and impression, and remembrance of God's word—for growth in grace, for personal holiness, for that sanctification which the redeemed undergo. Thought of the sins that most easily beset me; confessed them, and prayed for correction and deliverance. They are—anxiety about worldly matters, when any suspicion or uncertainty attaches to them; a disposition to brood over provocations; impatience at the irksome peculiarities of others; an industriousness, from a mere principle of animal activity, without the glory of God and the service of mankind lying at the bottom of it; and, above all, a taste and an appetite for human applause. My conscience smote me on the subject of pulpit exhibitions. I pray that God may make usefulness the grand principle of my appearances there. Read the promises annexed to faithful ministers; and prayed for zeal, and diligence, and ability in the discharge of my ministerial office. Prayed for the people,—individually for some, and generally for all descriptions of them. Prayed for friends individually and relations. Read the promises relative to the progress of the gospel, and conversion of the Jews. Prayed for those objects. Through the whole of this exercise felt calm, and I hope

confident. I have not felt much rapture, nor have I that near sense of the presence and glory of God which I aspire after. Let my maxim be, 'Faint, yet pursuing;' and let me look up in Christ for all those spiritual blessings, which can only be enjoyed in perfection on the other side of time, and of the grave. Concluded the whole with a prayer for God's blessing upon the exercise. Examined two intending communicants, and feel more satisfaction in the work than I used to do.

"*June 4th.*—In the evening I examined three intending communicants, two of whom were so ignorant that I have referred them to another evening, and even at a loss what to do with them. O God, give me Thy directing wisdom. Save me from irritation in the work. Let me think how much Christ did to enlighten ignorance; and let the servant of God be gentle, apt to teach, patient.

"*June 6th.*—O God, arm me with wisdom and principle. And, oh how grateful to Thee, my Creator, if a measure, which beyond all others exemplifies the truth, that it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps, shall, under the direction of the Supreme, be found to terminate in domestic happiness to myself, and in the accession of another's piety and another's enthusiasm to the great work which I am intrusted with.

"*June 16th.*—This is one of my dedication days, and the following is the record of it:—Prayed for a fixed intentness of thought upon God. Recurred often to the reigning object of my heart, and gave myself up to the plans and calculations which have this world for their object. Dedicated myself to God, as my Creator and Judge. O may I feel the weight of this dedication, and the dreadful sentence that hangs over my falling back from it. Thought of myself as a sinner, and of the alarming nature of an unqualified dedication to God, with the twofold condemnation upon him of sinned and sinning. Prayed again. Made confession with my mouth; and, from the agita-

tions of penitence, threw myself into the arms of Jesus Christ, to whom I dedicate myself as one of His redeemed, accepting Him as my alone Saviour. Felt the power of the prevailing affection give way to the exhilarating thought of my Saviour. I look up to Him, and pray that through Him I may be able to do all things. Suffered an interruption in seeking a concordance for the passage—'He that will do the will of my Father, shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.' Thought of Christ as my sacrifice, and tried to bring up my mind to the doctrine of the Cross, in all its peculiarity. Prayed. Professed to receive Christ as my propitiation, and made a dedication of myself to Him accordingly. Thought of the service which this laid me under to Him. Recollected several passages to that effect, and acquiesced in them accordingly. Prayed for a life and a heart worthy of the holy name by which we are called; and that I should love and obey Christ. Thought of my own insufficiency for this; repaired to the agency of the Spirit; dedicated myself to the Holy Ghost as my sanctifier; and prayed that God would give me His Spirit to reform me, and make me a new creature in Christ Jesus our Lord. During the whole of this last interval was much occupied with that affection which has taken so exclusive a hold of me. I pray that God may moderate and restrain it. Give me self-government; and may all these things issue to my good, and to His glory. Had much comfort; but I am afraid that a great deal of that buoyancy was due to the feeling of independence which it inspired upon the subject that has thrown me into so much agitation. O God, may the fruits of this dedication grow every day, and be more abundant. May I think of the awfulness of Thy judgments. May I not abuse Thy covenant; and I pray for the Spirit which Christ purchased by His obedience—to be made wholly such as Thou wouldst have me to be. Concluded with a general prayer on the subject of the dedication, and craved the pardon of God for its manifold defects.

"*June 29th.*—O my God, pour Thy best blessings on ——. Give her ardent and decided Christianity. May she be the blessing and the joy of all around her. May her light shine while she lives, and when she dies may it prove to be a mere step, a transition in her march to a joyful eternity."

This impressive prayer was offered up for her to whom he had been recently engaged—in union with whom thirty-five years of unbroken domestic happiness were enjoyed. The career which lay before him was very different from that contemplated at the beginning of this union. In her who should afterwards form a suitable companion to him, it required qualities which are rarely combined. He always recognised it as Heaven's greatest providential gift that he was united to one whose presence graced the society in which he moved, upon whose judgment in the details of life he placed implicit confidence, and whose wisely compliant and affectionate disposition made his home one from which he always went out revived and reinvigorated, and to which he always returned to find peaceful and pleasurable repose after toil, or most soothing sympathy amid trials. Miss Grace Pratt was the second daughter of Captain Pratt of the 1st Royal Veteran Battalion. She had resided for some time with her uncle, Mr. Simson, at Starbank, in the parish of Kilmany. The expectation of her speedy removal from that neighbourhood may have somewhat accelerated a movement which landed in so happy a result. His sister's marriage, and his disappointment about the extent of his augmentation, had so recently afforded to Mr. Chalmers the opportunity of reiterating his firm resolution never to marry, that he might perhaps have felt the awkwardness of so suddenly announcing, not only that his old purpose was abandoned, but that his new one was both formed and executed. From any awkwardness which an explicit announce-

ment might have created, he thus felicitously saved himself in communicating the intelligence to Mrs. Morton:—

"KILMANY MANSE, *July* 2, 1812.

"MY DEAR JANE,—You know that, when you left Edinburgh, I was engaged with a process before the Court of Teinds, and that the issue of that process was not just so favourable as I could have wished; since which period I have been carrying on another process before another court, and, after the delay of some vexatious forms, and some tedious and unlooked-for evasions, I have the joy to announce to you that the issue has been in the highest degree triumphant. I had really no time for answering your letter. My whole time was occupied with the business of the lawsuit, and with a most constant and fatiguing attendance upon the forms of court. I had to draw out the summonses; I had to plead repeatedly in person. When I met with any discouraging appearance on the part of the judge, I had to renew my appeal, and betake myself to another line of argument. I had to frame replies and duplies, and thought at one time that I would be cast upon the necessity of resting the whole merits of the cause upon a reclaiming petition. The memorials I had to write out and give into court were innumerable. At length appearances began to dawn more favourably upon me. Anxiety brightened into hope, and hope now reposes in all the certainty of the long-wished and well-fought for decision. Nothing now remains but to carry forward the decision into accomplishment as speedily as possible. Instruments have already been taken in the clerk's hands; papers have been exchanged between the parties; and all the formalities of signed, sealed, and delivered, have been duly attended to. When Kings, Lords, and Commons, pass an Act of Parliament, they cause it to be proclaimed at the Market-Cross of Edinburgh. The court at which I have been pleading

has far more exalted pretensions. Unlike every other court of judicature in the country, it neither imitates the supreme court of the nation, nor does it suffer any appeal to her; and the deliverance which it has given in my favour must be proclaimed twice, and within less than a quarter of a mile from my own residence. The officer who reads the proclamation is bound to proclaim the truth, and nothing but the truth; and yet it is very strange that no man can look to him who may not say, in the rude impertinence of the Scotch accent, that it *lies.** Lastly, the two distinct days on which the court requires proclamation to be made, are the 26th of July and the 2d of August; and the day on which it has decreed the full infeftment of Mr. Chalmers in the property pleaded for and won, is Tuesday the 4th of August.—I ken, Jane, you always thought me an ill-pratted† chiel; but I can assure you, of all the *pratts* I ever played, none was ever carried on or ever ended more *grace*fully.

"I would like to know what you make of the above communication, and what you think of it. I shall only say, that it has rejoiced my friends—that it has revived the heart of my old and venerated father—that Mr. Manson threatens a long screed of poetry on the subject—that it has brought up my aunt to Kilmany, where she has been for days exercising her peculiar talent for redding up—and lastly, that it has made my mother quite eloquent upon her favourite subject of napery inventories and dredge-boxes. God bless you, my dear Jane.—Yours most affectionately, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"*July 3d.*—Rode before breakfast to Starbank, and got acquainted with Captain Pratt, who expresses his own approbation and that of other friends.

* *Lees* was the name of the parish-clerk who read the proclamation of marriage.
† *Scotice* for "mischievous."

"*July* 10*th.*—Staid all this day at home in Sunday preparations, and visits to people in the village. Sandy arrived in the evening, and told me the happiness of my Anster friends in the prospect of my marriage. The pleasure of this intelligence is greatly qualified by the accounts of my venerable father, who, from my mother's letter, seems to be hasting to the grave.

"*July* 15*th.*—Reached Anster after nine, and found my father greatly better than I expected.

"*Sunday, July* 19*th.*—Preached for Dr. Jones at Lady Glenorchy's in the forenoon, and for Dr. Fleming at Lady Yester's in the afternoon. Dr. Stuart, Duncarn, heard me at the latter place; and, with high compliment, was very free, and, I believe, very just in his criticisms. Went in the evening to hear a George Barclay, a Baptist minister. Got introduced there to Dr. Stuart, and spent an hour with him in the evening.

"*July* 30*th.*—O my God, fit me for the duties of my new situation. Give me patience, and steadiness, and wisdom. May the Christian spirit ever animate me; and, dismissing all anticipations of heaven upon earth, may I betake myself soberly and determinedly to the duties of the married state. .

"*August* 3*d.*—Spent an hour this forenoon in devotion, of which the following is a very short and general record:—Prayed for the blessing of Heaven upon the ensuing devotion. Prayed for my own personal religion, and that of her to whom I have devoted my affections. Prayed for the special blessing of God upon our union, and for the direction of His wisdom. My thoughts wandering and unsettled; but had some refreshing and exhilarating glimpses of the Saviour, and of His perfect sufficiency. Concluded with a prayer for the blessing of God upon the whole service. Read a little of Baxter.

"*August* 4*th.*—Married this day at Starbank, and went to Kilmany with our party in the evening.

"*August* 5*th.*—Let the happiness of those around me be a

perpetual and a reigning object. Have now family worship twice a-day, and I pray that God would give my dear wife a serious and decided bent of the heart to His service. We read in conjunction after dinner. I have been sadly deficient in useful and regular exertion for a long time back. Let me now recur to it gradually.—O my God, draw me to Thy love and to Thy service. May I grow in the exercise of the domestic virtues, and may I study peace, and cheerfulness, and kindness.

"*August 6th.*—Have recurred to my English chapter and hour of fair writing. Rode before dinner to Charlton, where I made two visits.—O my God, save me from all delusion, and may my offering to Thee be sincere and unmingled. The book we read together is Brydone's 'Tour.' Let me attend to others while they read—a most useful exercise."

"KILMANY MANSE, *August* 7, 1812.

"MY DEAR JANE,—I offered you a history in my last delivered in enigmatical language for the purpose of giving a little exercise to your faculties. I look with eagerness for your explanation of it." "*August 13th.*—I have received yours, and I find that I have underrated your capacity. You are right both as to the event and the person, and I now proceed to give you a number of particulars. You know that their uncle Mr. Simson's death left the ladies no other alternative than going up to England to live with their father, Captain Pratt, stationed near Harwich. * * * Opportunities, which I felt to be resistless, occurred, and I obtained a final and favourable deliverance on Friday the 26th June. In the mean time, Captain Pratt arrives in Scotland to take up his daughters. Everything was previously arranged for their departure, and you may easily conceive how the change of plan was a fine subject for the gossips, and rather an awkward and difficult matter of explanation to the young ladies. Captain Pratt and I met at

Starbank on Friday the 3d July. Plain, frank, and gentlemanly, he stated his own high satisfaction with the arrangement, and that of the nearest friends. On Monday the 13th, I took the ladies to Edinburgh by the way of Burntisland, where lives Mr. Young, distiller, married to an aunt of the young ladies, of a most respectable family, and what is better than all, he keeps up family worship, and countenances religion in its pure and evangelical form. You will observe, all the while, that Sandy was of mighty use to me. He has been at Kilmany for nearly two months. I got him introduced to Starbank immediately after the settlement took place. You may well conceive him to be a prodigious favourite. * * * My great anxiety was that our marriage should be as private as possible, and, for this purpose, my aunt left me after completing the preparations. The event took place before dinner at Starbank. Dr. Greenlaw was the clergyman, in his 90th year. He made a most laughable mistake, which converted a business that is often accompanied with tears, into a perfect frolic. It made me burst out, and set all the ladies a-tittering. In laying the vows on Grace, what he required of her was that she should be a loving and affectionate husband, to which she curtsied. We dined and drank tea. Sandy left us about half-an-hour before our departure, so as to be in readiness to receive us at Kilmany. The whole of our chaise party consisted of Grace, her sister, and myself. Sandy broke the bread, presented the tongs, and had supper ready for a small party of four; and I think that I have managed the matter most philosophically, when, instead of the fuss and noise of company, or the parade of a fashionable jaunt, I have got her translated at the very outset of our connexion into all the quietness and security of domestic retirement. We have had a flow of forenoon callers, but not a single invited party. Miss Pratt lives with us, and makes a most pleasant addition to our small family. I had invited James Meldrum to

spend his vacation with me, and, upon my marriage, there was a disposition on the part of Mrs. Meldrum to look upon the engagement as dissolved. This I could not submit to, and told her and Grace, that if I had conceived matrimony to be that kind of thing, which was to detach my heart from any of its old feelings or old friendships, I never should have entered into it. James is accordingly with us; and the perfect cordiality with which all my friends are received and entertained by the lady of the house, has made her dearer to me than ever. I have got a small library for her; and a public reading in the afternoon, when we take our turns for an hour or so, is looked upon as one of the most essential parts of our family management. It gives me the greatest pleasure to inform you that in my new connexion I have found a coadjutor who holds up her face for all the proprieties of a clergyman's family, and even pleads for their extension beyond what I had originally proposed. We have now family worship twice a-day; and though you are the only being on earth to whom I would unveil the most secret arrangements of our family, I cannot resist the pleasure of telling you, because I know that it will give you the truest pleasure to understand, that in those still more private and united acts of devotion which are so beautifully described in the 'Cottar's Saturday Night,' I feel a comfort, an elevation, and a peace of which I was never before conscious."

"*August* 12*th.*—Peace, harmony, and affection reign in my abode; but, oh let me never cease my anxiety for my own soul and for hers.

"*August* 13*th.*—Scampered on horseback before dinner. Walked in the afternoon with my dear G. to the top of Forest Hill. I am giving lessons to Grace upon botany. O my God, send eternity with impression into our hearts.

"*Sunday, August* 16*th.*—It were desirable that Sunday

should be spent in devotion and Scripture; and let me afterwards make this a distinct object. Have recurred, after a long interval, to the Sunday part of my scriptural course. O God, make me more present with Thee in thought. Give me to go through my public services with earnestness and intentness of spirit. May my family exercises be kept up with vigour and delight; and, oh may the dear partner of my heart grow in grace and in sanctification. She supports me in all the forms of devotion. O God, enter her heart, and make it wholly Thine.

"*August* 19*th.*—On a review of the day, I was mortified to find how little God was present to the mind. O God, let me never think to wipe away the forgetfulness of the day by the prayers and acknowledgments of the evening. Give me to press forward, and to carry it towards Thee with a sincere and perfect heart. Enlighten, convince, and convert me, O my Father.

"*Sunday, August* 23*d*—Preached twice to-day to a numerous audience. I am reading the 'Marrow of Modern Divinity,' and derive from it much light and satisfaction on the subject of faith. It is a masterly performance, and I feel a greater nearness to God, convincing me that Christ is the way to Him, and an unconditional surrender of ourselves to Christ the first and most essential step of our recovery. O my God, make me every day wiser unto salvation.

"*August* 24*th.*—Finished the 'Marrow.' I feel a growing delight in the fulness and sufficiency of Christ. O my God, bring me nearer and nearer to Him.

"*August* 28*th.*—Crossed over to Edinburgh, where I called on Dr. Brewster and others. I am beset with petitions for public sermons, and will probably consent to a few of them.

"*Sunday, August* 30*th.*—Preached in the forenoon, and heard Dr. Jones in the afternoon.

"*September* 3*d.*—I have begun a few lectures on chemistry

to the people of the house.—O my God, sustain me in the patience and zeal and activity of the Christian life.

"*September 4th.*—Have recurred to severe reading and my Greek chapter. Composed half a sermon in the forenoon.

"*September 7th.*—This being the first Monday of the month, I gave the forenoon to devotional exercises, of which the following is the record:—Prayed for God's blessing upon the service. Felt assured and comfortable. Wandered a good deal after this. Felt a cordial reception of Christ, and had some lively actings and exercises of faith in Him. Expressed this reception in prayer; and asked through Him for repentance, for a sense of God's holy law, for sanctification, and all those spiritual blessings which are poured in abundance upon those that believe. Felt a certain degree of gloom and disgust at the withdrawment from the world, and familiarization with heavenly things which religion implies. Prayed that God would give me grace to help in the time of need; prayed for heavenly-mindedness, and that God may be the satisfying portion of my heart; I again prayed for the grace of patience and contentment with my present lot; that I may endure hardness as a good soldier of Christ Jesus; that patience may have her perfect work. I then prayed in reference to my peculiar conduct as a husband; that I may conduct myself with wisdom; that I may love my wife; and that we may encourage and support one another in the great concerns of a Christian family. Prayed for the comfort and salvation of my parents; for all my relations, acquaintances, and the world at large; for a more frank, sincere, and single-minded deportment towards all; and for the extension of the gospel over the earth. I again prayed for the forgiveness of my long-continued neglect and indolence as a Christian minister; for a more zealous activity in the time to come; for a more awful and affecting impression of the importance and responsibility of my situation; that I may watch for

souls as one who is to give account; and that I may be more constant and more zealous amongst them. Prayed also that the Spirit would be great among the people themselves. I then concluded with a prayer for the Divine blessing upon the whole, and that I may keep the subject of my speculation in habitual remembrance.

"*September 9th.*—A most prosperous day as to study. Got a large parcel of tracts and reports, which occupied a great part of the evening.—O my God, make the good seed grow and be more abundant.

"*September 10th.*—Have instituted a sale of tracts at John Lumsdain's in the village. Had Robert Edie to sup with me.—O how grateful should I be to God for the happiness I enjoy! and how should I improve it to the sanctification of myself and those around me.

"*September 11th.*—After dinner our family walked up to Logie, and drank tea. Finished Brydone's 'Tour' at our public reading, and began Buchanan's 'Christian Researches.'—O my God, begin the good work of sanctification in my heart, and carry it on.

"*Sunday, September 12th.*—Preached as usual, the congregation particularly attentive in the forenoon.—O my God, give me the right impression of my subject. May I be born again by Thy Spirit, and may I watch thereunto with all perseverance. O God, keep me habitually in Thy grace; and save me from the many relapses of error and forgetfulness which I experience. Started at seven, and was engrossed with preparations; let me henceforth give the whole of Saturday to this work, and keep Sunday in reserve for devotional exercises. I am generally so fatigued in the evening as to require indulgence. If I cannot keep up the high tone of the day, let me, after my Bible, give myself to tracts, reports, &c.

"*September 21st.*—I should have had a dedication on the

17th, but forgot it; had it this day. Prayed God for His blessing; then made three several dedications of myself to Him, as having a right to all my services—to Jesus Christ as my Saviour—to the Holy Spirit as my sanctifier. Made these the subject of three separate prayers; and though not articulate, I hope that God suggested and approved the aspirations, and will do for me exceeding abundantly beyond what I ask or think, according to the power that worketh in me. Prayed for God's blessing upon the whole, and never felt myself so much at home in these contemplations, as when I had a firm faith in Christ, for which the Bible gives me every warrant, and holds out every invitation.—O God, carry me on in my course heavenwards.

"Had a letter from Dr. Charles Stuart, to which I must pay attention, respecting the heavy loss incurred by the Serampore missionaries through fire.

"*September 24th.*—I am disposed from Calvin and my own writing to be more passive to the influences of heaven in the work of sanctification.—O my God, I submit to Thee in all things; enable me to walk in the way of Thy commandments.

"*September 29th.*—Was a little mortified at the specimen which the 'Instructor' has given of my speech for the Bible Society, and feel that vanity and envy are not subdued in my heart.—O God, interpose Thy Divine Spirit.

"*October 5th.*—Gave an hour to my monthly act of devotion, of which the following is the record:—Began with lively actings of faith in Christ; professed that faith, and prayed for the increase of it. Prayed for sanctification by it. Confessed my distance from the complete restoration of the Divine image in my soul, and sent up aspirations, the object of which was, that God would make Christian sentiment and Christian sanctification a real process within me. Thought of my personal faults, and made a more detailed confession of them—my vanity or

love of applause—my angry impatience at what is irksome, transporting me to many violations of the Christian temper, and particularly to a most habitual violation of the fifth commandment—my distrustful apprehension as to temporal abundance—and, above all, my habitual estrangement from Divine things Prayed for forgiveness and reformation ; and feel that I do not bring the right elements to bear upon the case of a corrupted soul, without the atonement that saves it from punishment, and the Spirit that cleanses from pollution. Thought of my relation to the people around me as their Christian minister. Confessed my inactivity, my want of zeal and perseverance amongst them. Prayed for forgiveness ; for a high impression of the importance of my charge ; for more constant and unremitting action amongst them ; for the extension of my zeal beyond the limits of my parish ; and for charity, combined with energy, in those more public affairs which have for their object the management of societies, and the propagation of the gospel through the world. Thought of my habits of intellectual perverseness. Prayed for the correction of them ; for a more fixed and undivided attention to the subject I attach myself to ; for a more retentive memory, that my ambition of reading much may give way to the desire of a more complete and digested acquaintance with the objects of my study ; and, above all, for a clearer understanding, a more faithful remembrance, and a readier application of Scripture. Thought of those with whom I stood personally related or connected—first, of my wife: prayed for her, and for my dutifulness to her ; the same for my servants, for my visitors ; that my conversation may minister grace and useful edification ; for those at a distance—for my parents, that they may be happy in me ; for my other relations, and the general circle of my acquaintances.—May my conduct to them all bear evidence to the power of Christianity within me. Concluded with a

prayer for the Divine blessing, and that God would make religious impressions permanent and habitual to my heart.

"*October 7th.*—Rode to Starbank, thence to Mountquhannie, where I gave a lesson on geography. I am meditating the transmission of our penny society produce to Dr. Stuart. Felt at times the application of religious principle to the scene before me.—O God, make this application more habitual and constant.

"*October 14th.*—Have begun a sermon on Psalm xli. 1, for the Destitute Sick Society, Edinburgh, and I am collecting passages out of former discourses for it.

"*October 15th*—Heard sermon from Mr. ——, and dined with the Presbytery. Was guilty of several fits of impatience, and feel my weakness.—O God, may I take a firm hold of the Saviour, that He may strengthen me to do all things. Give me the charity that endureth, and banish from my heart suspicion and anger. Reproach myself for the praise I gave to Mr. ——'s sermon, which was entirely destitute of the unction of the gospel. As an exposition of duty it was instructive; but let me supply the deficiencies of my testimony by taking an early opportunity of stating to Mr. —— the undeniable fact, that out of Christ it is never performed, and that it is through Him alone that we can gain strength for the performance.

"*October 20th.*—Was much impressed with a tract, entitled 'The Christian indeed.' Feel the want of discipline of heart, and my estrangement from God; and pray that He and His love and His law may weigh habitually upon me. Count this one of the most noted days I have spent, as to a great step accomplished by the inner man.—O God, may I keep my heart with all diligence. I look to Thee in the face of Christ, and do Thou give me more exalted notions of His power, and dignity, and offices. Give me to maintain nearer and more affect-

ing intercourse with Thee. May I have my conversation in heaven. In company could discover some risings of vanity and self-consequence in my heart. Still feel the power and urgency of yesterday's impressions. I am disturbed about my want of clearness as to the understanding of sin; but I look unto Jesus, in the hope that through Him all my deficiencies will be made up. Let me every day respect His prayer. Perfect, O God, that which concerns me: call me to a right understanding of Thy truth: raise me to the love and enjoyment of Thee; and may the good seed hasten to maturity, and yield fruit in abundance.

"*Sunday, October 25th.*—Served tables for Mr. Thomson, and preached in the afternoon to a very crowded audience. I am doubtful whether my habit of composition should not be let down to the bulk of the people. I have much to reproach myself for the selfish love of applause.—O my God, follow with Thy rich blessing all the services of this day, and crucify all that is vain and unchristian within me.

"*October 26th.*—Preached a missionary sermon in the evening. My love of applause broke out again. Disappointed at the smallness of the collection. Was fatigued; but as I am told that I was more than heard in the large Steeple Church of Dundee, let me preach with more composure and self-command. O my God, make this appetite for applause to depart from me. Form me by Thy grace; and all I ask is for Christ's sake.

"*November 5th.*—Was unwell on Monday, and had my devotional forenoon this day. The following is the record of it: —Prayed for a blessing on the whole exercise. Felt my union with Christ; and prayed that emptied of self, I might be filled with the fulness and the sufficiency of the Saviour. Prayed for the greater elements of my soul's health, for the increase of my faith in Christ, and establishment in Him; for sanctification, for a growing delight in God, for the perfect love which

casteth out fear, for a sense of the obligation of His will, for a more correct and clear view of the evil of sin, for those principles which lead us to shun all that is opposed to the will of God, and dispose us to all obedience. Descended from the greater elements to the more particular applications; and, with the maintenance of the right attitude for discharging our duties, viz., looking unto Jesus for the promises of the Spirit, prayed for the keeping of my heart with all diligence, for the regulation of my thoughts, for victory over the temptations of actual life, for the charity which maintaineth patience amid all that is irksome and provoking in those around us, for freedom from anxiety about worldly matters, for liberality to the poor, for a perpetual desire and diligence to be useful, for freedom from the love of applause, and, finally, for an example, pure in all its points, and calculated to gain converts in every quarter of society. Prayed for the repentance and remission of my sin of negligence in holy things, as a minister of the gospel; for my parish, and for the more attentive and conscientious discharge of my engagements amongst them. Prayed for my relations and friends. Prayed for the propagation of the gospel; and concluded with a prayer for the Divine blessing on the whole exercise."

"KILMANY MANSE, *Nov.* 5, 1812.

"MY DEAR JANE,—Instead of filling up valuable space with apologies, I shall just say, that it is my wish and purpose to be more punctual in future; that though my wife engrosses a large part of my heart, and is worthy of a still larger, she has not dispossessed you by a single inch out of my affection; that I have room for you both; and trust I shall ever look upon correspondence with you as a point not merely of duty, but supreme and much-loved enjoyment. I have now had three months' experience of matrimony; and, as I know you will be

anxious for my comfort, I can tell you that all my apprehensions founded on discrepancies of temper or want of congeniality between me and the partner of my fate, have turned out to be so many bugbears; that my affection is every day receiving new accessions to its strength and its steadiness; that I meet with nothing but the most cheerful and delighted concurrence; and what you must know to be of particular importance to me, that she interests herself in the success of my professional exertions; that I am getting nearer to the state of her soul, by intimate and close conversation on the greatest of all concerns; and I trust in the Hearer of prayer that she will rise from the first elements of repentance and faith to the joyful hopes and new life of a confirmed disciple. Poor Mr. Johnston of Rathillet is dying; I saw him to-day for the first time. Mrs. Johnston was much overpowered. He, poor man, is so low that I am not sure if he recognised me. His son James, from Glasgow, was in the room; and what with the deep affliction of the wife and son, and the moving spectacle before me, I never was so melted into a sense of the vanity of all that is human."

"*November* 6*th*.—Mr. Johnston died this morning, at eight o'clock."

Soon after receiving this intimation, Mr. Chalmers despatched the following letter to Rathillet:—

"Kilmany Manse, *Nov*. 6, 1812.

"Dear Mrs. Johnston,—The mournful intelligence of poor Mr. Johnston's death reached me from the village this morning; and, with my warmest sympathy for you all, I offer my prayers that you may be supported in this the day of your visitation; that God may sanctify your cup of discipline, and that we may all take warning from an event so deeply affecting to the whole neighbourhood.

"I can say for myself that I count myself to have sustained a heavy personal loss in the death of your truly excellent husband, and shall long have to regret the want of that society which I loved, and of that conversation which often guided and supported me in the great and common objects of our faith and ministry.

"I would not have obtruded so soon upon the deep and overpowering grief of your family, had it not been for a wish, in which Mrs. Chalmers joins me, that you would take all the accommodation which our house can afford. Would it not be better that you should be relieved as much as possible of the press of nightly visitors to which the various friends of your family, and the very high and general esteem in which Mr. Johnston was held, must necessarily expose you? I beg you would make over as many of them to us as possible; and it occurs to Mrs. Chalmers that if any of your sons or your daughters would take up their abode with us for some time, it may be of some use in diverting their thoughts from the melancholy which oppresses them.

"I again offer my warmest expressions of friendship and condolence, and pray that one and all of us may be strengthened and improved under this dispensation of a good but mysterious Providence.

"Do not put yourself to the trouble of writing. I shall call to-morrow; and in the mean time, should there be any visitors upon you to-night, I beg that you will avail yourself of our house.—Yours most truly, THOMAS CHALMERS."

This letter is the best voucher for the very great regard in which Mr. Johnston was held by Mr. Chalmers, and the best memorial of the affectionate intercourse which had subsisted between their families. On the Sabbath after his interment, Mr. Chalmers referred from the pulpit to the great loss which

the neighbourhood had sustained; and in alluding to the benefit which he had personally derived from his society, he used, as was his custom when expressing his obligations to others, language which created a false impression—that he attributed his own change to his conversations with Mr. Johnston.*

"*November* 10*th.*—Have begun to compose prayer in a more scriptural style with the assistance of 'Henry on Prayer.' Resumed Calvin, but have taken to the English translation.

"*November* 16*th.*—Left home with my dear wife this morning for Flisk, where I preached. Dined at the manse with a large Cupar party, and spent the evening in Mrs. Morton's. Hesitated betwixt a plain and an elaborate sermon for the people, and decided on the former. Pray that I may be strictly conscientious in this department of conduct. Felt long and frequent vacuities of religious sentiment, and feel my need of wisdom among those who are without. O my God, do Thou allay my hunger and thirst after righteousness, by filling me.

"*November* 17*th.*—Left Flisk after breakfast. Feel long and dreary intervals of estrangement from God, with occasional gleams of faith. Felt impatience at Rathillet and other places. —O my God, establish the operation of Thy whole law in my heart, and let my walk be with Thee. Rose in gratitude to my Heavenly Father for the peace and comfort of our home.

"*November* 19*th.*—Mr. Tait spent the day with me. Had much congenial conversation with him, and pray that I may be supported in exhibiting the same marked and decided testimony.—O God, give me to devote more of my zeal for the eternal interests of the people in my neighbourhood.

* "Mr. Johnston was a man of refined taste and great conversational powers. I was always given to understand that his conversations with him on religious subjects had been greatly blessed to Mr. Chalmers, although he never had occasion to make such an avowal to me. But it was evident that he held him in high esteem, and greatly valued his society."—*Manuscript Memoranda, by the Rev. Dr. Brown of Brampton.*

"*November 20th.*—Was provoked with Thomas taking it upon him to ask more corn for my horse. It has got feeble under his administration of corn, and I am not without suspicion that he appropriates it; and his eagerness to have it strengthens the suspicion. Erred in betraying anger to my servant and wife; and, though I afterwards got my feelings into a state of placidity and forbearance upon Christian principles, was moved and agitated when I came to talk of it to himself. Let me take the corn into my own hand, but carry it to him with entire charity.—O my God, support me. Had our first invited party this day, and have resolved, from my experience of it, to be more aloof from secular people. Mr F. was peculiarly offensive with his contempt for the Bible Society.—O my God, enable me to hold out a firm and consistent testimony.

"*November 26th.*—I have a high call of duty for rising earlier—that I am losing acquaintance with God, and must devote more time and more earnestness to the work of intercourse with Him.—O may this consideration be effectual in overcoming my indolence.

"*November 30th.*—Exercised on the subject of forbearance with Mr. Edie, who prolongs the stay of his two young horses on my glebe before the term. Wrote him a civil intimation on the subject; and, O my God, carry me in triumph through this sore and difficult temptation. Mr. Anderson dined and drank tea. Let me carry it with the meekness of wisdom as to my favourite plans about Bible Societies. A slight tendency to err in conversation upon this subject.

"*December 1st.*—The staigs were returned to the glebe after my intimation, and gave rise to much internal conflict.—O my God, discover to me the evil of my heart, and may faith and charity have the rule in it. Called on Mr. Edie, and found that they did not belong to him, but to Mr. Mather. This gave instantaneous relief, and leaves a lesson behind it. Let

me always speak in a case of fancied injustice. If thine enemy offend thee, rebuke him; and if he still hold out, let that be an after consideration.

"*December 3d.*—Yesterday rebuked Mr. Mather, and then granted him the favour he had taken.

"*December 9th.*—My dear wife much better. May my gratitude be indelible. Neglected my monthly forenoon of devotion on the first Monday, and had it to-day. The following is the record:—Thought of God, and endeavoured to possess my mind with the idea of the reality of His power, wisdom, knowledge, truth, and mercy—how all these attributes met in the dispensation of the Gospel. Prayed, and sent up adoration to God as the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and invoked His blessing upon the solemn exercise. Thought of the fulness, and absoluteness, and certainty, of the promises that are made in Christ. He who believeth in Him shall be saved. Had actings of faith. Prayed for the increase of it, and for the Spirit to give me the love of God, to teach me the evil of sin, and to make me altogether such as God would have me to be. Thought of the practical application of the general truth of the Gospel to conduct. Felt the small operation of religious principle as an element of influence upon my hourly and familiar movements. Prayed for the abiding influences of religious principle upon me, for the glory of God and the will of Christ being the grand principles of my behaviour, for my sins being subdued, and my duties being performed,—and at last gave way to aspirations, which I hope God would receive as the effusions of a soul hungering and thirsting after righteousness. O my Heavenly Father, do Thou fill it. Prayed for my wife, relations, friends, acquaintances, the parish, and general interests of the Gospel. Concluded with a prayer for God's blessing upon the whole exercise.

"*December 15th.*—Went to the Presbytery. Understand

that there is to be a motion for a petition against the Catholics. I shall resist it. Reflected, on my return, how absent I was from God, and pray that His law and His Spirit may be ever present with me. No composition or severe reading this day. Have thought of the subject of the record that God calls us to believe, and which He says we make Him a liar by not believing, namely, that He hath given us eternal life, and that this life is in His Son. So long as we have not the assurance of this eternal life through Christ, are not we short of the belief required ?

"*December* 16*th*.—Confined to the house with bad weather. Read much at Reviews. Calvin highly interesting on faith; and I commit myself to God in Christ Jesus.

"*December* 18*th*.—Again prevented from riding by the weather. Began a short-hand speech on the subject of the Catholic Claims.—O God, give me to be wise, and calm, and skilful in this argument.

"*December* 22*d*.—I had asked John Bonthron to supper yesternight, and told him with emphasis that we supped at nine. He came at eight this night, and all forbearance and civility left me, and with my prayers I mixed the darkness of that heart which hateth its brother. This is most truly lamentable, and reveals to me the exceeding nakedness of my heart. All my works gone through with cheerfulness, because there is nothing in them to thwart a natural feeling, or a constitutional tendency, can never be received as evidence of good, while self-denial is so little practised,—while duty is shrunk from the moment it becomes painful,—while gentleness is unfelt, and, with my profession of faith, that God, for Christ's sake, hath forgiven me all, I in fact can forgive nothing, and suffer the most trifling incidents of life to hurry me away from all principle and all charity. Oh, why was not this present with me at the time of offence?—O my God, enable me to watch for

Thy Spirit with all perseverance, and may that Spirit bring all things to Thy remembrance.

"*December* 24*th.*—A. Patterson called, and gave me agreeable accounts of the growth of seriousness in the parish.

"*December* 31*st.*—Left Anstruther by myself after breakfast. Felt outbreakings of impatience at the slow rate of my horse.—O my God, make me to feel the rapidity of my pilgrimage. As years roll over me, may I find my repose in eternity; and give me to be more attached to my Saviour, and more acquiescing in the whole of His will concerning me. O Heavenly Father, carry on my sanctification; and, though separated at present from the dear partner of my home, I remember her before Thee. Protect and save her, and may she grow in the faith of Christ, and in the experience of its power and of its comforts."

CHAPTER XII.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW ON MISSIONS IN INDIA—THE SERAMPORE MISSIONARIES—DR. CAREY—SERMON AT DUNDEE—VISIT OF ANDREW FULLER—EXPERIMENT OF EXTEMPORE PREACHING—JOURNAL OF 1813.

"The first number of the 'Anabaptist Missions' informs us that the origin of the Society will be found in *the workings of Brother Carey's mind, whose heart appears to have been set upon the conversion of the heathen in* 1786, *before he came to reside at Moulton.* These workings produced a sermon at Northampton, and the sermon a subscription to convert 420 millions of Pagans. Of the subscription, we have the following account:—'Information is come from Brother Carey that a gentleman from Northumberland had promised to send him £20 for the Society, and to subscribe four guineas annually.' 'At this meeting at Northampton, two other friends subscribed and paid two guineas a piece, two more one guinea each, and another half-a-guinea, making six guineas and a half in all. And such members as were present of the first subscribers, paid their subscriptions into the hands of the treasurer, who proposed to put the sum now received into the hands of a banker, who will pay interest for the same.'—*Baptist Mission Society*, No. i. p. 5."

This passage is taken from an article on Indian Missions which appeared in the "Edinburgh Review" for April 1808. The extracts which it contains form part of that "perilous heap of trash" presented to the reader by the Rev. Sydney Smith, while executing his chosen office of "routing out a nest of consecrated cobblers;" the simple exhibition of which was deemed by him "quite decisive both as to the danger of insurrection from the prosecution of the scheme [of Indian Mis-

sions], the utter unfitness of the persons employed in it, and the complete hopelessness of the attempt while pursued in such circumstances as now exist;" for "why," in mingled mirth and scorn, he asks "why are we to send out little detachments of maniacs to spread over the fine regions of the world the most unjust and contemptible opinion of the Gospel?" "Let any man read the 'Anabaptist Missions;'—can he do so without deeming such men pernicious and extravagant in their own country, and without feeling that they are benefiting us much more by their absence than the Hindoos by their advice?" When the *workings of his mind* began, of which the witty reviewer makes such pleasant use, Carey was a journeyman shoemaker in the small hamlet of Hackleton, a few miles from Northampton; and when, as a "consecrated cobbler," he removed to the neighbouring village of Moulton, it was to preach to a small congregation of Baptists for a salary under £20 a year, and to teach a school besides, that he might eke out a scanty livelihood. To Sydney Smith, as to nine-tenths of the British population at that time, it looked ridiculous enough that such a man should not only trouble his own mind, and try for years to trouble the minds of others, about the conversion of 420 millions of Pagans, but that he should actually propose that he himself should be sent out to execute the project. He succeeded at last, however, in obtaining liberty to bring the subject before the small religious community of which he was a member; and on the 2d October 1792, at a meeting of the Baptist Association at Kettering, it was resolved to form a Missionary Society; but when the sermon was preached, and the collection made, it was found to amount to no more than £12, 13s. 6d. With such agents as Carey, and collections like this of Kettering to support them, Indian Missions appeared a fit quarry for that shaft which none knew better than our Edinburgh Reviewer how to use; and yet, looking somewhat more narrowly at the

"consecrated cobbler," there was something about him, even at the beginning, sufficient to disarm ridicule; for, if we notice him in his little garden, he will be seen motionless for an hour or more, in the attitude of intense thought;* or, if we join him in his evening hours, we shall find him reading the Bible in one or other of four different languages with which he has already made himself familiar; or, if we follow him into his school, we shall discover him with a large leather-globe of his own construction, pointing out to the village urchins the different kingdoms of the earth, saying, "These are Christians—these are Mahommedans—and these are Pagans, and these are Pagans!"—his voice stopped by strong emotion as he repeats and re-repeats the last mournful utterance. Carey sailed to India in 1793. Driven, by the jealousy of the East India Company, out of an English ship in which he was about to sail, he took his passage in a Danish vessel, and chose a Danish settlement in India for his residence; yet he lived till, from that press which he established at Serampore, there had issued 212,000 copies of the Sacred Scriptures in forty different languages—the vernacular tongues of 380 millions of immortal beings, of whom more than 100 millions were British subjects, and till he had seen expended upon that noble object, on behalf of which the first small offering at Kettering was presented, no less a sum than £91,500

Even at the period in Mr. Chalmers' history at which we have now arrived, and when his eyes were fixed with intense interest

* "Long before any measures were adopted for the establishment of a foreign mission, his sister was witness to the extreme anxiety of Mr Carey on the subject. Again and again has she observed him in the attitude of intense thought, the subject of which, as it afterwards appeared, was the state of the heathen world. She has often seen him standing motionless for an hour or more in the middle of a path in his garden, abstracted from outward objects by the workings of a mind that had begun to devote itself to a vast and newly contemplated project."—*Cox's History of the Baptist Missionary Society*, vol. i. p. 5. See also *Annals of the English Bible, by Christopher Anderson*, vol. i. p. 591.

upon Carey and his coadjutors, they were carrying forward nineteen different translations of the Holy Scriptures, and expending upwards of £10,000 per annum, one-half of which was the fruits of their own personal labour, upon the great work in which they were engaged. On the 11th March 1812,* that work suffered a disastrous check. A fire broke out in the printing-office at Serampore. In a few hours reams of paper, and printed sheets, and founts of various types, and several complete editions of the Scriptures, were consumed. The intelligence reached England in the course of the summer, and such sympathy and liberality were excited, that in fifty days upwards of £10,000, the estimated amount of the loss, was contributed. The feeling of interest spread throughout all the churches. It was felt even in the remote parish of Kilmany, whose minister was revolving in his mind whether or not he should propose that some of the funds of his own parish association should be devoted to repair this loss of the Serampore missionaries, when an application came to him from Dundee to preach the annual missionary sermon there, the committee of the Dundee society having resolved that the collection should be devoted to that very object upon which Mr. Chalmers' own sympathies were so intently fixed.

This sermon, the first which was delivered on any public occasion after the great change, was preached on the 26th October 1812. At the request of the Missionary Society, it was printed and published at Dundee in January 1813. Its sale was so rapid, that a month or two afterwards it was republished by Mr. Whyte of Edinburgh; and before the end of the following year four editions of it had been circulated. This, with another sermon, and a review of Foster's "Essays," which appeared in the May number of the "Christian Instructor," comprised all that he published during 1813, a year almost exclusively dedicated to those private and parochial

duties, the record of which, subjecting it to increased abridgment, we once more resume.

"*January 1st*, 1813.—Made a solemn dedication of myself this forenoon, of which the following is a record:—Prayed for the spirit of grace and supplication. Dedicated myself to God, and prayed for strength from on high to fulfil my dedication-vows. Renewed my dedication to Christ as my Saviour. Prayed for my establishment in Him, for the continuance and increase of faith, for an interest in His redemption; and, at the conclusion of my prayer, felt a delightful sense of His sufficiency and fulness. Having the hope, may I purify myself, even as He is pure Dedicated myself to the Holy Ghost, my sanctifier Prayed for a cordial acquiescence in all the duties which such a dedication implies, watching for the Spirit, appealing to Him as my guide and helper at all times, acknowledging Him as the only effectual source of all good and virtuous exertion, and emptying myself of myself, that I may be filled with His fulness, and that His power may rest upon me. Prayed for a closer walk with God, for having His will and authority more constantly present with me, for dying unto all sin, and living unto all righteousness. Prayed for a blessing upon the whole, for an entire application of the Gospel remedy to my heart, and that God, who knows what is in me, would accommodate Himself to my necessities, and deliver me entirely from that disease of a ruined nature which Christ came to heal

"*January 6th*.—Had my monthly exercise of devotion this forenoon. The following is the record:—After many wanderings, composed myself to a prayer for the Divine Spirit accompanying this exercise. Felt nearness to God in Christ Jesus. Acknowledged God; prayed for friendly intercourse with Him; acknowledged Jesus as the only channel by which this inter-

course could be carried on; desired to be in Him, emptied of self, and satisfied with His fulness. Prayed for spiritual blessings through Christ, that I may be enabled to cultivate a habitual dependence on the Spirit, and to watch for it with all perseverance. Felt aspiring desires after that which is good. Thought of my faults, and prayed for forgiveness and reformation, for the more constant operation of religious principle over the whole of my life; for more patience, and forgiveness, and forbearance with those around me; for the love of God, for a freedom from worldly anxieties, for the correction of my intellectual perversities, and, in particular, for a more retentive memory.—O God, do Thou fill my hungering and my thirsting after righteousness. Thought of my connexions; prayed for my dear wife, relatives, acquaintances at large; for my conduct to all; for my parish in general, for some sick in it, for my conduct among them; for Bible Societies and public courts, and my conduct in them; and, finally, for the general spread of Christianity in the world. Felt many intervals of wandering through the whole of this exercise. O God, give me a more intense direction of mind to divine things. Repeated my ordinary morning prayer. Concluded with an humble petition for God's forgiveness of what was amiss, and his blessing on the whole exercise. Felt clear and pleasurable. Had a fuller sense of divine things than usual; and pray that God would give energy to my practice as well as clearness to my sentiments.

"*January* 14*th*.—My missionary sermon has reached Anster; and I pray that I may feel an indifference to human praise.—O God, may Thy approbation be enough for me.

"*January* 15*th*.—Began my review of Foster. Extinguish my love of praise, O God; and now that my sermon is afloat on the public, let me cultivate an indifference to human applause.

"*January* 26*th*.—Called on Dr. Brown,* who gives a high

* Dr. James Brown, then living in St. Andrews.

testimony to my article on 'Christianity.'—O God, let me not be seduced by the love of praise.

"*January 27th.*—Left Anster with my wife. Called on Dr. Brown, who again gives me praise for my sermon, and is anxious for conversation on religious subjects. Let me write him a full and a firm testimony.—I pray, O God, for his peculiar Christianity.

"*January 29th.*—At night received letters giving a good account of the sale of my sermon.—O my God, may Thy praise and Thy approbation be uppermost in my heart.

"*February 1st.*—Had my monthly devotion this forenoon. The following is the record of it:—Prayed for the blessing of God upon the exercise, and that He would draw near to me. Had closer fellowship with Him than I sometimes have. It is the presence of the Mediator which gives to that fellowship delight and confidence. Gave myself to meditation, but took to wandering; upon which I again prayed for fixedness of thought upon God. When I rose from this prayer, felt how connected the duty of prayer was with the duty of watching. Without formally going over the faith of Christ, I proceeded on it; and made an immediate approach to God through Him for spiritual blessings. Prayed with fervour for the graces and accomplishments of the Christian character, for the increase of faith, for a closer alliance with the Saviour, for heavenly-mindedness, for the love of God, for the increase of knowledge in divine things, and for a clear understanding and faithful remembrance of the Bible. Thought of my perversities; but still had my relapses into other trains of thought and speculation. Confessed my offences, my forgetfulness and estrangedness from God, my keen sense of what is irksome or injurious, my love of human applause, my want of forgiveness and brotherly forbearance, my worldly calculations and the pleasure I annex to them. Prayed for the forgiveness of all, and the

amendment of all. O to this prayer may I add watchfulness; and let it be a constant principle with me to annihilate self, and to lay myself out for the accommodation of those around me. Made intercession for the usual objects of them. Felt the straining of meditation to be unsatisfactory without Christ. May my rest be on Him, and may He guide me peacefully in the right way. Concluded with a prayer for God's blessing on the whole exercise.—O that I may watch as well as pray.

"*February* 11*th.*—Calvin's observations on self-denial, on bearing the Cross, on sinking and annihilating self in the will of God, are most interesting.

"*February* 12*th* —Have my evening family worship at nine, that I may give a clear and vigorous mind to the exercise. Finished Parkhurst's 'Greek Grammar.'

"*February* 17*th.*—Almost exclusively with my visitors. I lament the secularity of the general run, and feel myself oppressed with scruples on this subject. Prayed for direction; and, in point of fact, did not get fairly alongside of them in conversation, though I did my best for them at family prayers. Find, however, that my attempts are apt to fail, when I have respect to man in this exercise. Let me address myself to the one Hearer. No chapters nor study of any kind. I find it a main advantage to command some retirement for God on such occasions as the present; let me make a particular object of this.

"*Sunday, February* 21*st.*—Preached as usual. Prayed in my morning devotion against the encroachments of worldly feeling and worldly calculation. Succeeded to a degree calculated to awaken gratitude, and failed to a degree calculated to inspire humility. Should feel more in the house of God the awful reality of my business.

"*February* 25*th.*—There are many topics of anxiety afloat just now.—O my God, give me the victory. May my trust be in the living God; and grant that I may beware of covetous-

ness. O that I could attain to the quietness of faith. I look to Thy Spirit for the endowment. Err in dwelling with pleasure on my future prospects. This is idolatry. Be Thou enough for me.—Mr. Fleming reports the applause given at Edinburgh to my article.

"*Sunday, February 28th*—Preached as usual. Was more with God to-day than usual. Had no rapture nor overpowering clearness. But can these at all times be expected? Might there not be a calm hold of Christ, and understanding of His promise, and determined abiding by Him, though there is little elevation accompanying it?

"*March 1st*—Read Calvin's 'Institutes' before breakfast. Had my monthly devotion, and the following is the record of it:—Thought in the general, and prayed in the general. Felt Christ to be my all: prayed in the faith of Him, as a member of His body; and felt nearness and reconciliation. Prayed for living water, which is God's Spirit. Thought of my vague and imperfect knowledge of God. Prayed to be rescued from the power of ignorant and superstitious fancies; that my conceptions may be a fair copy of the information in the Bible; that I may submit to be taught by it, and stick to it firmly; that I may grow in the wisdom necessary to salvation, and that all the defects of my memory and understanding may be rectified. Thought of the more detailed and practical application of the greater principles. Prayed for strength from God through Jesus Christ, for the resting of His power upon me, for the cure of my infirmities, some of which I enumerated, and for the victory in all things, through Him who is both my Saviour and Sanctifier. Felt that rest in Christ and assurance of justification through Him gave a solidity and a power to my petitions which no other sentiment could confer. Delivered a prayer of intercessions. Concluded with a prayer for a blessing on the whole exercise. Through the whole, I found myself

more established on the true foundation, that is Christ Jesus. O may I watch as well as pray, and be of the number of those who worship God in the Spirit, and rejoice in the Lord Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh. Through the whole of this day felt the inefficiency of mere speculation in religion. Had little joy or spiritual light, had a weight on me; and without any luminous or satisfied feeling, entertained a general sense of my own unworthiness, and looked at the Saviour. Though I walk in darkness, let me trust in Him. Let me wait for God; and feeling that moods and frames are not at my control, let me feel my dependence on the Spirit. Much impressed with Calvin and Cecil.*

"*March 2d.*—Felt high elevation and joy this day. The

* Some precious thoughts in Cecil's "Remains," such as—"No man will preach the gospel so fully as the Scriptures preach it, unless he will submit to talk like an Antinomian in the estimation of a great body of Christians; nor will any man preach it so practically as the Scriptures, unless he will submit to be called by as large a body an Arminian. Many think that they find a middle path, which, in fact, is neither one thing nor another, since it is not the incomprehensible but grand plan of the Bible. It is somewhat of human contrivance; it savours of human poverty and littleness."—"The right way of interpreting Scripture is to take it as we find it, without any attempt to force it into any particular system. Whatever may be fairly inferred from Scripture we need not fear to insist on. Many passages speak the language of what is called Calvinism, and that in almost the strongest terms. I would not have a man clip and curtail these passages to bring them down to some system. Let him go with them in their full and free sense, for otherwise, if he do not absolutely pervert them, he will attenuate their energy. But let him look at as many more which speak the language of Arminianism, and let him go all the way with them also. God has been pleased thus to state and to leave the thing, and all our attempts to distort it one way or the other are puny and contemptible"—"We should take care not to discourage any one who is searching after God. If a man begins in earnest to seek after Him, if haply he may find Him, let us beware how we stop him by rashly telling him he is not seeking in the right way. This would be like setting fire to the first round of the ladder by which one was attempting to escape. We must wait for a fit season to communicate light. Had any one told me when I first began to think religiously, that I was not seeking God in the right way, I might have been discouraged from seeking Him at all. I was much indebted to my mother for her truly wise and judicious conduct toward me when I first turned from my vanity and sin." The above extracts are taken from a *Commonplace Book* commenced at this time by Mr. Chalmers, but containing only one more entry, quoted at a subsequent date.

delightful weather and full health had doubtless a share; but I trust that Christ is forming in me, and that will explain all, and give birth to all. Much delighted with Calvin on imputed righteousness. Feel this, that there is a power beyond natural reason in the work of bringing home conviction to the heart; and the feeble grasp which mere inference gives me of a truth tells me the need and the reality of that teaching which the Holy Ghost teacheth.

"*March 4th.*—Rode after breakfast to the westward, where I visited in four places, thence to Cupar, where I transacted all my business. Committed myself to God before entering into it; let this be a habit, but let me take care that it be a habit of the mind. Found myself withdrawn from God by the cares and calculations of life. Got a parcel from Dr. Stuart, and gave myself to the Baptist Report, to the exclusion of my evening devotion. May not even the keen interest I take in the news of the gospel's spread be a principle separate from the love of God?

"*Sunday, March 7th.*—Rode after breakfast to Cults, where I preached. I feel that I do not come close enough to the heart and experience of my hearers, and begin to think that the phraseology of the old writers must be given up for one more accommodated to the present age. Dined with Mr. Wilkie, and returned in the evening. Let me never leave secret prayer till I have obtained a state of mind so charged with Divine principle as to fit for going into the world. Instead of which, do I not hurry the conclusion, think that I have discharged a duty, shake myself loose of the business, and go back with a mind emptied and unfurnished of all that I had been before in possession of?

"*March 9th.*—Got a letter of congratulation from Mr. Burder, secretary to the Missionary Society, on the score of my sermon. I think it likely that it will go to a second edition.

"*March* 11*th.*—Mr. Brewster spent the evening, and had some conversation with him about my sermon. I fear that the sinful love of distinction still hangs about me.—O my God, forgive and cleanse. Let me be fearfully vigilant over this and every other part of my conduct. Let me make a point of bringing forward nothing in conversation for the purpose of signalizing myself.

"*March* 12*th.*—Rode to Charlstone, where I visited three people. One of them, on his deathbed, preferred a complaint against neighbours. I was offended at a reference to such a subject; felt the fruitlessness of my prayer among a set of envious and unbrotherly people; and flung the reference away from me with characteristic impetuosity. Was this right? No: 2 Tim. ii. 24. I should have taken up the case; I should have entered into the feeling, for it was so far justifiable; I should have mildly but impressively stated the insignificance of the matter, and particularly to one on the eve of eternity. Above all, I should have pressed home the charity and forgiveness of the gospel, and insisted on them as necessary evidences of a saving change in the heart. Felt a deadness all day to Divine things; but, O my God, give me to be fervent in spirit.

"*March* 13*th.*—Went to Rathillet to assist at a meeting for the poor. Mr. L. made a most unjustifiable appearance, and behaved with great personal rudeness to myself. I felt and brooded over it afterwards, and am sorry to say, I suffered it to take entire possession of me. I find that there are moments of helplessness, that I cannot see my way, and I abandon myself in general confidence to God. I intend rebuking him to-morrow; but let me keep anger under control, and cultivate forgiveness.

"*March* 14*th.*—Preached as usual, and I think to a very attentive audience. Was still occupied with vexation about Mr.

L., and God was shut out of my heart even on His own day. I mentioned the matter to Mr. Gillespie; but was not this seeking my relief in man, when I should have kept by God? God was merciful; He found out a way when I could not. Mr. L. felt the impropriety of his conduct, and came forward with an apology. I was mild, but I told him of his fault. He heard, and, O God, grant that I may have gained him. In the whole of this conduct I felt myself under the strong dominion of principles merely human—the feeling of an affront—the sense of disgrace in the sight of men—the anxiety to recover myself in their eyes; and even when I was mild, were not the fear of man—the unpleasantness of an open collision—the constitutional love of peace, and the instinctive compassion for penitential regret, the main principles of my conduct? O my God, how little of Thee and of Thy law in all this! but in this darkness about my duty and my condition, let me keep by my Saviour, and never cease my dependence upon Him who is the light and the life of men.

"*March* 16*th*.—On the review of last year, I look back upon a life chequered with frailty and sin, but I trust aspiring after righteousness, and feeling restless and uneasy under relapses. If in anything I have made sensible improvement, it is in feeling the more immediate connexion which subsists betwixt the practical virtues and the faith of Christ—leading me to cultivate union with Him, and dependence upon that Spirit which is at His giving.—O my God, give me to redeem the time; give me to make an entire business of my sanctification; and in all the duties of the redeemed Christian may I abound more and more. But above all, establish me thoroughly on Christ, that I may believe on Him to the saving of my soul—that I may be grafted in Him as my vine—that I may rest on Him as my foundation—that I may partake in Him as my righteousness. Believing, may I love—loving, may I obey.

"In addition to my ordinary supplies for the pulpit, wrote a speech for the Bible Society, since published; a sermon on Gal. iii. 23; do. on John iv. 10; do. on Rom. x. 17, since published; do. on 2 Tim. i. 10; do. on 2 Thess. iii. 1; a review of Foster's 'Essays;'* and a speech on the Catholic question;—in all about eighteen sheets.

"*March* 17*th*.—Made a dedication of myself. The following is a record of my dedication:—Prayed for the blessing of God on the whole exercises. Acknowledged the sovereignty of God, and made an entire dedication of myself to His service. Felt the relapses of wandering and worldly speculation; felt much comfort in the command to believe in Christ; acknowledged Him as my Saviour, and dedicated myself to Him as the alone Rock of my confidence. O the fulness and the sufficiency that lie in Him! Grant, Lord, that we may be made partakers of that fulness. Acknowledged my entire dependence on the Holy Ghost as my sanctifier. Prayed for His controlling influences over my heart, thoughts, and conduct.—O my God, renew me in the spirit of my mind. Prayed for the application of all this to my conduct; felt the rapidity of my years; prayed for the correction of my infirmities, and, above all, for a more close and constant walk with God. Concluded with a prayer for God's blessing on the whole exercise. Felt more confidence in Christ when I thought of His sacrifice in the plain and obvious view of the thing as laid down in the Bible.—O that I could sit humbly at the feet of Christ, and listen to his sayings with the docility of a child! O my God, soften and prepare me for a willing subject of Thy kingdom.

* The sermon on Galatians iii. 23, will be found in *Works*, vol. vii. p. 389; the sermon on John iv. 10, in *Posthumous Works*, vol. vi. p. 107. Particular attention is invited to this sermon, as unfolding the doctrinal change of sentiment which had been effected in the author's mind. The sermon on Romans x. 17, will be found in *Works*, vol. xi. p. 315. The sermon on 2 Tim. i. 10, in *Works*, vol. x. p. 215. The Review of Foster's "Essays," in the *Christian Instructor*, vol. vi. p. 327, and *Works*, vol. xii. p. 223.

"*Sunday, March 21st.*—Was fatigued by exertion; and instead of following after God by hard straining of the mind, I gave myself to quietism, and feel, that looking up for the Spirit through Christ Jesus is the only effectual attitude for obtaining love to God, and filial confidence in Him. My mind relapsed at times to its worldly perplexities; but, O God, may faith overcome, and may Thy Sabbaths be seasons of rest from all that is anxious. Let me withdraw my heart from the creature, and fix it in close and immediate dependence upon the Son of God. Felt the repose and charm of the peculiar doctrines. Stablish me in Christ, and may I lead a life of faith upon Him.

"*March 22d.*—Have finished the three first books of Calvin's 'Institutes,' but find the subject of the fourth heavy and uninteresting.

"*March 24th.*—Began 'Marshall on Sanctification,' and promise myself great enlargement and solidity from this performance.

"*April 5th.*—I must give up a number of intended preparations for the Synod; and what are these preparations?—uncertain in their object, and having a great share of vanity in their principle—O my God, make me more humble. May I count myself little among my brethren, and be satisfied to be so counted, be content with the want of extempore power, and not suffer my ambition of display to make business and anxiety so thicken around me.

"*April 7th.*—Neglected my monthly devotion on Monday, and had it this day. Felt more of my own impotency, and the necessity of quietly waiting in dependence on the Saviour, that I may be filled with his fulness. Prayed to God for a blessing on the exercise. Began at the root of all intercourse with God, through the Mediator. Prayed for establishment in Him, and not being able to articulate, my heart was opened to the view of His sufficiency of excellence. O God, do Thou, who knowest the mind of the Spirit, put Thy Spirit in me, that what I

pray for, though not expressed in language, may be according to Thy will, and obtain acceptance in Thy sight. This interval wandered most shamefully into other subjects. In my next prayer did not articulate. Its subject was a right state of mind in reference to God. Felt the Saviour to be the channel through which I was to get this, as well as every other blessing. Prayed for freedom from anxiety about worldly matters, seeing that God was my friend, and for His will being the constant principle of my conduct.—Thought then of my conduct in reference to others, and prayed for the regulation of it by the principles of Christian charity, and, above all, by a supreme regard to the good of souls Intercessions for my parish, for forgiveness for myself, and ability and judgment as its minister, for our Church; forgiveness for myself for that vanity and ambition of display which have hitherto actuated my conduct in Church courts, and for this anxiety being entirely swept away, that I may give an humble and a single heart to the good of the Church; for my friends, and family, and dear wife; and finally, for the progress of the gospel in all lands. Prayed for a blessing on the whole exercise, and for the forgiveness of what was amiss in it. I have to lament the wanderings of my mind into what is vain and worldly, and I count it an evidence of my small progress in the tastes of a Christian, that even the very hours which I had consecrated to God should be so much invaded by the distractions of the world. O my God, pity and forgive me.

"*April 15th.*—Crossed to Edinburgh.

"*Sunday, April 18th.*—Heard Drs. Campbell and Fleming. Dined in Dr. Jones'. Preached in the evening for the 'Destitute Sick.' Much annoyed by Dr. Stuart having wrested from me the publication of my sermon, and that after I had refused a deputation from the Society.

"*April 26th.*—Stole a few intervals for writing a fair copy

of my Catholic speech for the Dundee newspaper.* Went to church in the evening, and had a meeting of people signing their names to the Indian petition.†

* This speech, intended originally to have been delivered before the Synod of Fife, was broken down into three letters, which, under the signature X., appeared in the *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser*, in the numbers for May 7th, 14th, 21st, 1818. Without entering into the political part of the question, these letters were occupied with the injury which it was imagined that the removal of the Catholic disabilities would inflict upon the interests of religion. The arguments adduced are the very same which many years afterwards were embodied in the celebrated speech on behalf of Catholic Emancipation which he delivered in Edinburgh. And when, upon that occasion, he was publicly charged with a change of principle, the present able editor of the Spectator defended his old friend by referring to these very letters, which had been published while the Dundee newspaper was under his management. I am indebted to Mr. Rintoul for my first information as to the existence of these letters, and to Captain Scott of Dundee for kindly placing at my disposal a file of the newspaper in which they appeared

† The charter of the East India Company was at this time being renewed; and as the House of Commons seemed disposed to commit the power of excluding all missionaries from India for twenty years longer into the hands of the Court of Directors, who had all along shown themselves inimical to the introduction of Christianity into our Eastern possessions, Mr. Wilberforce appealed to the religious feeling of the country. This appeal was answered by nine hundred petitions, a number at that period almost unprecedented; and the result of the parliamentary struggle was the concession that the Board of Control should be authorized and required to grant licenses to fit and proper persons to go to India.—See *Life of Wilberforce*, chap. xxviii. "I remember being much struck with this about some sixteen years ago, (written in 1829,) when the question of Missions to India was discussed in Parliament, and a great deal of evidence was taken on both sides of the controversy. The preponderance of the testimony was altogether on the side of the missionary cause; and it was found accordingly that its success was not incompatible with the safety of the British interests in that distant region of the globe. Among other witnesses, Warren Hastings was examined, and nothing could exceed the utter incompetence of his evidence, discovering as it did a glaring misapprehension of all the facts of the case, and evincing him to be an utter stranger to transactions which took place in his own vicinity, and throughout the country where he both resided and reigned. Yet nothing could be more natural than his total misinformation on the matter; and it was really not to be marvelled at, that in the multiplicity of his official cares, a matter so fractional as the incipient efforts of a few missionaries, among the mighty population who were under him, should altogether have escaped his observation. The confidence that marked his hostility to the enterprise is not so easily justified; but it is the very confidence, coupled with the very ignorance, discovered by many who bring home from India the most hostile representations of the missionary cause, and claim the authority of having been residents on the spot."—*Dr. Chalmers' Posthumous Works*, vol. ix. p. 111.

"*April 27th.*—Let me record that I never experience a more sensible improvement in divine things than when I resign myself in quiet dependence to the Saviour. O my God, give me to be more alive through the day to a sense of religion.

"*May 3d.*—I gave an hour in the forenoon to devotion, of which the following is the record:—At the commencement felt my heart strongly occupied with my misunderstanding with ——. Prayed against this, that my main anxiety may be about God, and not man, and that I may be so filled with charity and forgiveness, as to be in a state of preparation for bringing my gift before the altar.—Prayed for God's blessing and presence through the whole exercise.—Prayed for the correction of my defects, my want of taste for spiritual and divine objects, my distance from God, my want of those impressions of reality and importance which should accompany the whole of my intercourse with Him; prayed for the correction of my faults in reference to my brethren of mankind, and, in particular, for grieving the Holy Ghost, whose fruits are long-suffering and gentleness, by clamour, and wrath, and bitterness.—Prayed for the substitution of right principles in place of those wrong ones which obtained in the case of ——, and that I may be without uncharitableness to man, on the one hand, and a sinful fear of man, on the other. This led me to a train of feeling and speculation about this affair which I indulged in, even on my knees, and the result was a plan which I think it would be advisable to adopt in reference to ——, and that is, a full and explanatory letter. O God, forgive me what is wrong in this wandering, and, as I prayed for wisdom, am I to take this plan as Thy suggestion, and to proceed upon it accordingly? My beginning acquaintance with God as He lays Himself before me in the Old Testament is, I hope, putting to flight my metaphysical difficulties about sin. I am proceeding more upon first principles, and not consuming my time and strength so

much in speculating about them. Thought of my relative duties.—Prayed for a due discharge of them, and for the welfare and prosperity of those who are the objects of them. This carried in it intercession for parish, Church, family, friends, and acquaintances. Thought of the general interests of Christianity: prayed for its extension, for the removal of the obstructions which now lie in its way, for the prosperity of religious societies. Concluded with a prayer for forgiveness, and for a blessing on the whole exercise.

"*May 5th.*—This day is an epoch in my life. My dear Grace had a daughter, and I have to bless God for an answer to my prayers in giving her a safe and easy delivery.—O my God, perfect her restoration to health, and carry her in safety through the remainder of her trials. I dedicate this child to Thee, and pray for wisdom and ability, as well as zeal, in the great work of bringing her up in Thy nurture and admonition. Insert the following as a memorandum, which may interest my daughter when she comes to understand it:—

"Born about five minutes before two in the afternoon, and I was employed at the time in correcting for the press the second paragraph about the contempt incurred by missionaries in my sermon on Ps. xli. 1.

"*Sunday, May 6th.*—Preached as usual. A number of people from a distance, and my house crowded in the interval. Felt some good visitations upon my soul, and, O my God, do Thou continue them. Give me to repose from all that is worldly on Thy Sabbaths. O that I could henceforth resolve to forsake all for Christ, and resigning myself in faith to His guidance, may I obtain strength for the doing of all things. O my God, give me to bear usefully upon my dear wife's heart; and may I maintain the uniform tone among all around me of an heir and a candidate for immortality.

"*June 7th.*—This day had my monthly exercise of devotion,

of which the following is a record:—Prayed for a greater acquaintance with God. Have perhaps laid too much stress upon my fancy and my feelings of clearness and comfort. God bids us draw near to Him: simply do it, and He in His good time will give an answer to our prayers. It is by faith that we see God and have a near view of Him. But is it not an exercise of faith, when our minds are beclouded and our vision dark, still to trust and to wait and to look in His good time for an answer to our prayers? Made Christ the object of my next prayer: prayed for a thorough establishment in Him. When I reflect upon the high terms in which the transition is described from being out of Christ to being in Him, as a passage from death to life, from darkness to light in the Lord, from darkness to marvellous light—how much have I to attain to if I do not see this light; but I wait for it, I pray for it, and I determinedly fix mine eye upon Christ as the alone quarter from which I am to obtain it. Then prayed for the Spirit. O that I could ever and anon appeal to the promise of the Holy Ghost, and feel the accomplishment of this promise upon me in all the varieties of my business. Prayed against the sins which do most easily beset me—anxiety about worldly matters—coldness and reserve to those against whom I conceive prejudice or disgust—a want both of the meekness and firmness of wisdom in the management of those whom I conceive to have treated me with petulance or ingratitude—and, above all, a habitual forgetfulness of my obligations to a life of religion. Remembered before God my various connexions—wife and family, including servants, relations, acquaintances, parish, Church of Scotland, and the general interests of Christianity.

"*June* 13*th.*—Served one table at Dairsie, and preached in the evening on Philip. iv. 13,* with a hurtful degree of violence.

"*June* 14*th.*—Dined in Dr. Macculloch's with a party; Drs.

* See *Posthumous Works*, vol. vi. p. 143.

Campbell and Macdonald there; and I, overborne by fatigue and that awkwardness which always clings to a man in the presence of those with whom he was awkward formerly, felt silent and embarrassed. Give me to prefer others, and be content with an humble and inferior place among my brethren. Rode to Logie, and got home in the evening. I should feel grateful for the comfort and affection of home; but, O God, I confess, over the head of the sacrifice, my guilt.

"*June* 23*d*.—Rode to Moonzie, where I preached. Was weakened and chillish. Feel very unspiritual often on these occasions. The landscape in full glory: this is to be burned up, but God remaineth—O that I could cleave to Him and to the hope of that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

"*June* 28*th*.—Walked to Moonzie, where I heard sermon, and dined with a large party. Have to record a greater degree of vigilance, and a heart more constantly alive to divine things. It is most apt to abandon me in company.—O that God were present with me, and that He were the inspiring principle which gave rise to the play of kind affection. Let the second law be ever present with me. Delighted with the tenth chapter of Hebrews; and pray for a fixed and realizing sense of the sure efficacy of the sacrifice.

"*Sunday, July* 11*th*.—Preached as usual. Miss Collier expressed her satisfaction, and gave me the testimony of another to the good I had done. I have to record that I felt sweetened and drawn to Miss Collier by this.—O my God, search me, and root out all that is sinful in the love of praise.

"*July* 19*th*.—Had a conversation with Mr. K. about missionaries and others whom he has a contempt for. There is wisdom as well as zeal necessary on these occasions. We went a numerous body to Fincraigs, where we dined. Mr. F. said that the supporters of the Indian petitions were idiots. I of

course am one of these idiots. I do not know if he is aware of the fact that I promoted a petition. But I took him up, and argued the cause, I trust, in the meekness of the gospel, and certainly reduced him to silence. I believe my wisdom will be to abstain from all positive advances to him, and should he ask the reason, to tell him frankly of the rudeness and impropriety of his conduct.—Save me from all uncharitable brooding, O God; and give me to consider the Author and the Finisher of my faith.

"*July 23d.*—After breakfast Messrs. Anderson and Bruce* came and spent the forenoon with me. Had much conversation with the former, and have to entreat of God that He would forgive any selfishness, or vanity, or indifference to others that I may have betrayed to him. O keep me steadily in Thy truth amid all the varieties of human speculation.

"*Sunday, August 1st, (Sacrament.)*—I extemporized two table services at Balmerino, and have to thank God for carrying me through the performance. I am too much given to beat down error upon these occasions, when the more suitable and appropriate exercise would be to excite the direct affections of such a solemnity—the love of Christ, a woful sense of our relapses from that love in the world, and the gratitude which should be the principle of a habitual love with the Spirit to keep it in operation. Is there not vanity, and a regard to men, and an appetite for their good opinion in all that paltry anxiety about sermons, and do not these principles require the severest castigation?

"*August 3d.*—Had my monthly devotion. Waited for God's Spirit. Prayed in the general for being altogether such as He would have me to be. Referred to God's knowledge of my necessities, and prayed for the accommodation of God's grace and Spirit to them. Felt a general confidence that He would

* Mr. James Anderson and the Rev. Mr. Bruce now of Edinburgh.

lead me by the right way, even though it should be a way that I at present see darkly and know imperfectly. In my next prayer carried a more immediate reference to Christ, and felt the simplicity of putting faith in Him. I never feel more sure and satisfied than when my thoughts are that way.—O God, stablish me in Him thoroughly, and enable me to close with Him, and to embrace Him as He is offered to me in the gospel. The burden of my next prayer was, that as I had professed to put faith in Christ, I might henceforth live to Him, and count living to Him my sole business. Prayed for the removal of those weights which hinder the prosecution of this business; for a more fixed and steady application of mind to the things of God; for the Spirit to help mine infirmities—my irksomeness, my impatience, my suspicion, my selfishness, my idleness.—O God, may I not be slothful in business, but fervent in spirit, serving the Lord. My last prayer was an intercessory one, in which I included my dear wife, the other members of my family here, the family at Anster by name, and that at Heelbridge, some of my acquaintances to whom I had promised my prayers, or by whom I had been applied to, my parish, the Church of Scotland, all other Churches, the general spread of Christianity, the prosperity of the societies for that object; and finally prayed for my wise and right conduct in reference to all with whom I am connected.

"*August 4th.*—Went to Dundee. Was introduced to Mr. Fuller and his companions. Heard Mr. Fuller preach in the evening. Returned to Kilmany with Mr. Christopher Anderson.

"*August 5th.*—Mr. Anderson left me for Dairsie and Cupar, where Mr. Fuller preached. The party came out to Kilmany, and spent the evening with me.

"*August 6th.*—Rose early this morning to enjoy the conversation of Mr. Fuller. The party left me for New Inn. I accompanied them in the chaise, and got out at Letham, and

returned to Kilmany in the afternoon. I have much to gather from the three last days:—(1.) I am still ashamed of the testimony of Christ, and would have felt this had I walked the streets of Cupar with the Missionaries.—O my God, forgive and cleanse. (2.) But still the slave of men, and ambitious of their testimony. Was it incumbent on me to go both to Dundee and Cupar? Why think my presence of so much importance? Cannot I labour in my own sphere, and leave it to others to labour in theirs? (3.) God was very kind in conducting this affair to so pleasurable a termination; a most comfortable meeting with these people, and Mr. Fuller's conversation, in particular, has left an impulse behind it. Let me henceforth attempt to extemporize from the pulpit; let me decline all extra engagements; let me redeem time, and give a steady and systematic direction to my efforts.—O my God, may I henceforth maintain a more decided tone of piety to Thee, and of usefulness to Thy cause."

This visit of Mr. Fuller was one of the incidents in his Kilmany life, to which Mr. Chalmers always looked back with pride and pleasure. He could not refrain from referring to it when introducing a remark of Mr. Fuller's into one of his theological lectures: "It has been exceedingly well said," he remarked, "by the judicious Andrew Fuller, on whose last visit to Scotland in 1813, I felt my humble country manse greatly honoured by harbouring him for a day and two nights within its walls—it has been exceedingly well said by this able champion and expounder of our common Christianity, that the points on which the disciples of the Saviour agree, greatly outnumber, and in respect of importance very greatly outweigh, the points on which they differ."* The candour, the ardour, the simplicity, the originality, the power, the

* See *Posthumous Works*, vol. ix. p. 425.

gentleness—all of which he found so singularly associated in his new acquaintance, made a profound impression upon Mr. Fuller. Though he did not live to see it, having died before Mr. Chalmers' removal to Glasgow, he was already measuring the width of that sphere of influence which he was fitted and destined to fill. "I never think of my visit to you but with pleasure," he wrote to Mr. Chalmers a few weeks after his return to Kettering. "After parting with you I was struck with the importance that may attach to *a single mind receiving an evangelical impression.* I knew Carey when he made shoes for the maintenance of his family; yet even then his mind had received an evangelical stamp, and his heart burned incessantly with desire for the salvation of the heathen; even then he had acquired a considerable acquaintance with Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French, and why? because his mind was filled with the idea of being some day a translator of the Word of God into the languages of those who sit in darkness; even then he had drawn out a map of the world, with sheets of paper pasted together, besmeared with shoemaker's wax, and the moral state of every nation depicted with his pen; even then he was constantly talking with his brethren on the practicability of introducing the gospel in all nations. I saw in my dear friend Chalmers a mind susceptible of strong impressions, a capacity of communicating them to others, a thirst for knowledge, an openness to conviction, and a zeal for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ. My desire and prayer was—O that the impress he receives may be that of truth unalloyed with human mixtures, and that the zeal of his heart may have a scriptural direction! To what innumerable influences are we exposed—from friends, from enemies, from conversation, from books, from connexions, from interests! The Lord direct our hearts into the love of God and the patient waiting for Christ."

It was only in one respect that Mr. Fuller's desires and anticipations were to remain unfulfilled. Under the very strong conviction that his use of the manuscript in the pulpit impaired the power of his Sabbath addresses, Mr. Fuller strenuously urged upon his friend the practice of extempore preaching, or preaching from notes. "If that man," said he to his companion, Mr. Anderson, after they had taken leave of Kilmany manse—"if that man would but throw away his papers in the pulpit, he might be king of Scotland." Mr. Chalmers was perfectly willing to make the experiment, and he gave full time and all diligence to the attempt; but it failed. He read, reflected, jotted down the outlines of a discourse, and then went to the pulpit trusting to the suggestion of the moment for the phraseology he should employ; but he found that the ampler his materials were, the more difficult was the utterance. His experience in this respect he used to compare to the familiar phenomenon of a bottle with water in it turned suddenly upside down: the nearly empty bottle discharges itself fluently and at once; the nearly full one labours in the effort, and lets out its contents with jerks and large explosions and sudden stops, as if choked by its own fulness. So it was with Mr. Chalmers in his first efforts at extempore preaching. A twofold impediment lay in the way of his success. It was not easy to light at once upon words or phrases which could give anything like adequate conveyance to convictions so intense as his were; and he could not be satisfied, and with no comfort could he proceed, while an interval so wide remained between the truth as it was felt and the truth as his words had represented it. Over and over again was the effort made to find powerful enough and expressive enough phraseology. But even had this difficulty not existed—even though he had been content with the first suggested words, he never could be satisfied till he had exhausted every possible way of setting forth the truth, so as

to force or to win for it an entrance into the minds of his hearers. So very eager was he at this period of his ministry to communicate the impressions which glowed so fervidly within his own heart, that even when he had a written sermon to deliver, he often, as if dissatisfied with all that he had said, would try at the close to put the matter in simpler words, or present it in other lights, or urge it in more direct and affectionate address. But when the restraints of a written composition were thrown away, when not at the close only, but from the very beginning of his address, this powerful impulse operated, he often found that, instead of getting over the ground marked down in his study to be traversed, the whole allotted time was consumed while yet he was labouring away with the first or second preliminary idea. After a succession of efforts, the attempt at extempore preaching was relinquished; but he carried into the study that insatiable desire to effect a secure and effective lodgement of the truth in the minds of others, which had so much to do with the origin of all that amplification and reiteration with which his writings abound. In preparing for the pulpit, he scarcely ever sat down to write without the idea of other minds, whom it was his object to impress, being either more distinctly or more latently present to his thoughts; and he seldom rose from writing without the feeling that still other modes of influential representation remained untried.

"*Sunday, August 8th.*—Began to extemporize this day, and carried it to the extent of my two lectures and part of my sermon.

"*Sunday, August 15th.*—Threw off a sketch of a sermon this morning, and seldom addressed a more cultivated audience, —a number of gentry, and Professor Hill and his wife. Felt discouraged, and did not acquit myself to my satisfaction.

This want of freedom prevented even a complete and edifying view of the subject.—O God, save me from all vanity. Was it right to apologize to Mr. Hill for my exhibition? No. Let me henceforth carry a prepared sermon with me, but let me persevere a little more in my extempore efforts. At all events, let me extemporize my lectures. There is a rapidity and impatience in all my processes which prevents that complete and connected view of my subject which is favourable to extemporizing.—O God, give me to be more calm and judicious.

"*August* 17*th.*—Had a party of Johnstons and Balfours at dinner, with the dissenting clergy. Delighted with Ebenezer Brown. I should keep my appetite for praise under severe castigation; and I let Mr. Brown know that I could not extemporize.—O God, keep me humble, and may I not refuse to be among the least of my brethren.

"*Sunday, August* 22*d.*—Had a double preparation for my sermon; that is, a sketch of one, and the other fully written. Took to the latter on seeing Dr. Jones from Edinburgh make his appearance, who preached for me in the afternoon, and with whom I spent a very pleasant day; but, O God, forgive me, and suffer me not to forget in all time coming that it is Thy day.

"*August* 23*d.*—Went to Dundee with Dr. Jones, where I made a variety of calls. I hope that his free, and unshackled, and scriptural divinity, will help to overthrow the spiritual tyranny of systems over me.—O my God, may I count no man master; but make me a little child, and may I take my lesson as the Bible offers it to me.

"*August* 24*th.*—Had a walk to Forret-Hill with Dr. Jones and Sandy. The Doctor left me after breakfast. He teased me to make a separate publication of the article 'Christianity.'

"*August* 26*th.*—Walked out after breakfast, and studied on my return till dinner-time. This perhaps an improvement, as

it throws an interval between the fatigue of severe reading and the fatigue of severe composition.

"*August* 27*th*.—Have made a further improvement in my daily work, which, when I have no interruptions, stands thus:—Start at six o'clock; dress and devotion till seven; read English and finish my daily accounts till nine; family-worship and breakfast; walk to eleven, twelve, or one; compose till dinner; public reading and miscellaneous work till tea; compose after tea, and family intercourse till bed-time.

"*Sunday, August* 29*th*.—Extemporized in the afternoon an hour and twelve minutes. Felt as if I repeated too much; but Sandy declares it to be more impressive than the usual way.

"*September* 3*d*.—Finished my perusal of the English New Testament, and am to begin it in the Greek at the rate of a chapter in the day.

"*September* 6*th*.—Had my monthly devotion this forenoon, but lost the record of it. I feel a want of the Divine Spirit going along with me in the exercise of my duties.—O for light and comfort in my daily walks, and for wisdom to those who are without. Let me use hospitality; but I have to record, that Mr. G.'s destitute situation excited in me apprehensions about giving. What folly is this! Let me cease from this anxious fearfulness, and give to him who asketh to the extent of what I have. In the mean time, I have little or nothing;* but why not have more confidence in God? Let me not be stretching forward to future possibilities, but trust that, when a duty comes round, He will give me strength for the performance of it; when a temptation comes round, He will find out a way of escape. The anxiety in question would not be felt by one who

* A demand having been made upon his generosity, he had met it by giving so much that, out of his professional income, he had only £10 to present to Mrs. Chalmers for her first year's housekeeping.

considered all he had as God's, and that he is not called upon to give what he has not. He must first owe no man any thing, before he can lay out upon works of love. Save me then, O my God, from this anxiety, and give me a most cheerful and willing heart to the whole of Thy service.

"*September* 10*th.*—Let me henceforth keep no record of my charities, but put them down among my personal expenses, that my left hand may not know what my right hand doeth.

"*September* 14*th.*—Sandy returned from ——. He tells me of Mr. F.'s keenness for Ferrie, whom I am against. I felt the fear of man, which I ought not to feel, and both felt and expressed a resentment at the recollection of Mr. F.'s petulance.

"*September* 17*th.*—This a dedication day. The following is the record of it:—A preparation prayer. Dedication in reference to God; all thoughts, and words, and actions.—O my God, may I feel the weight of this, and look to the only source from whence I can find strength for so vast and extensive a fulfilment. Dedication in reference to the Son of God, my alone Saviour; His merit my alone plea for justification; His redemption my alone ground for the hope of forgiveness. Dedication in reference to the Holy Ghost; may my sole dependence be upon the influences of the Spirit for newness of life and acceptable obedience.—O God, may I watch for Thy Spirit with all perseverance; and may my application for its assistance be as constant as my necessity; or, in other words, may I pray without ceasing. Prayed for the application of the above to life. Concluded with a prayer for forgiveness, and a blessing on the whole exercise.—O Lord, I feel the weight of my infirmities; they taint even our holy things. O may God pardon, and cleanse, and renew, and perfect, for Christ's sake. Amen.

"*September* 22*d.*—Mr. Duncan left us. Brought my pamphlet on the Bible Society to a close.

"*October 4th.*—Successfully employed in writing a speech on Mr. Ferrie's case.

"*October 6th.*—About finished my speech on Ferrie's business.

"*October 7th.*—Committed great part of my speech to heart.

"*October 12th.*—A day of mortification. Everything went against us by the through-bearing of the opposite party. I feel myself a weak, timid, vain, and capricious being. Did not come forward with my speech.—O God, extirpate what is bad, and, in the mean time, give me Thy direction and counsel.

"Let me be most cautious of holding out prospects to, or venturing into engagements with anybody as to the affairs of Church courts.

"Let me give myself most strenuously to the acquirement of forms and Church law, that, if possible, I may unravel the intricacies which impede the true interests of the Church, and confound men of simplicity and godly sincerity.

"*October 13th.*—Came home jaded, mortified, useless.

"*October 16th.*—Still under the influence of the disappointment.

"Mean to pay more attention to the business of Church courts; but, O my God, may I not be absorbed by it, or drawn away from what is more useful. Let me cease my anxiety about expressions. It is my duty to attend to Church business, but let me do everything in subordination to God.

"*Sunday, October 17th.*—Still under the dominion of that worldly sorrow which worketh death.

"*October 18th.*—Made my monthly devotion this day. Prayed for a blessing. Prayed to be rescued from all other influences, and brought under the entire control and sovereignty of Him with whom we have to do. Confessed my love of human praise.—Prayed for the extirpation of all that was sinful in it. Felt a constant tendency to other subjects, and especially to the predominating one of Church business. O how

helpless I am; but let me apply to the source of all help. An intercessory prayer. Concluded with a prayer to God for a blessing, and for forgiveness.

"*October* 21*st*.—My mind runs too much upon Church business. Let me by all means attend to it; but, O God, forgive and reform the excess of my constitutional anxieties. O for habitual love to God, and a constant sense of eternity.

"*October* 22*d*.—Wrote notes of a sermon, and am to make another trial at the extemporizing.

"*November* 8*th*.—Went to Cupar, where I did business at the Bible Committee. I am far too much alarmed in my anticipations of these matters. Let me henceforth take a decided part in public matters; but while I quit myself like a man, let me maintain charity in all things. Began to read Halyburton's 'Life' on the road.

"*December* 6*th*.—The following is the record of my monthly act of devotion:—Prayed for the quickening and enlightening influences of the Spirit. Prayed for a variety of particulars, and felt a hungering and thirsting after righteousness. Thought of living unto Christ, and prayed that I may be enabled to do so. Prayed that I may be purged of secret faults, and enumerated the sins which do most easily beset me. An intercessory prayer. Prayed for a blessing, and for forgiveness. Wandered a good deal; but I this day have made the experiment of fasting, that is, taking a very small breakfast; and I have to record that I felt more clear and spiritual than I ever recollect. Went over to Mr. Robertson, whom I married and dined with. Alas, alas! what a contrast betwixt the aspirations of the closet, and the realities of the world.

"*December* 8*th*.—Looked into Cecil's 'Memoirs of Newton,'*

* "The two great pillars of a sinner's religion," says Newton, "are what Christ has done for us in the flesh, and what He performs in us by His Spirit."—December 8th.—*MS. Commonplace Book.*

and was much impressed with that part of the latter's experience which consisted in habitually looking to God for hourly supplies of strength and wisdom.—O my God, give me to realize this.

"*December* 17*th.*—I am much interested in Halyburton. My experience does not accord with his. I do not feel his distress, his concern, his deep sense of the evil of sin. I know that I am under sin, and that, leave me to myself, I would live without God in the world. The guilt and the danger of this do not impress me; and I feel as if instead of having suffered the feeling to run on, I make a constant application of the remedy to the successive degrees of it. Ay! but where is the fruit of this faith in the remedy?—O God, make me to abound in it. When I go among secular people, make me to retain my sense of Thee. Give me to see sin in its evil—give me to be melted by Thy goodness unto repentance, and dissolve the hardness of this sleeping and unaffected heart. Let me be most watchful that as I do not feel I may do.—And, O God, may the fruit of my doing be a farther manifestation of the evil of sin and the joys of Thy reconciled countenance.

"*December* 21*st.*—Finished Cowper's 'Poems' a long time ago, and began this night Cecil's 'Life of Newton.' Was more diligent; and I pray that I may have a greater value for time and all its fragments. I am still very far from God, and feel a want of that reconciling sense of Him—that view of the evil of sin—that constant impression of His authority which are surely all necessary to make up the exercise of *living unto* Him. Let me wait for this revelation in dependence upon Him, without whom no man can know the Father. My own reasoning does not conduct me there. Let me try faith in the Son, and in the mean time give myself to the assiduous discharge of all known duties. Forgiveness, long-suffering, a quiet dependence on God for daily bread, a freedom from worldly

anxieties, a diligence in opposition to my constitutional sloth, are duties that clearly lie upon me.

"*December* 22*d.*—Had closer and more confiding views of my all-sufficient Saviour than I ever recollect; and sure I am that a secure and intimate fellowship with him will do more for me in the way of universal obedience than all my former exertions, limited as they have hitherto been, with the spirit of independence and legalism.—O God, carry me on; and after I have found the Saviour may I never let Him go.

"*December* 23*d.*—Felt the spirit of love and peace this day. O my God, keep me in the way of resting upon Christ, and give me to experience that it is a way of power and holy obedience.

"*December* 28*th.*—This is a miscellaneous week. Read Hebrew and Halyburton. I do feel a great barrenness of religious feeling on the familiar occasions of life.—Oh! how short of doing all things to God's glory. Let me wait for His manifestations and His power over my heart through Christ.

"*December* 31*st.*—Another year has rolled over my head, and I find myself in a state of deadness and darkness, which I pray the good Lord to dissipate. I do feel no confidence in myself, and cling to faith as the principle which carries all that is good and desirable along with it. I commit myself to God in Christ, and pray that I may henceforward be more zealous in redeeming time, more diligent to be found of God without spot and blameless, more active in my professional employment, more judicious in my applications of Scripture to my own case, and that of others; and, oh for that highest of all wisdoms, the wisdom of winning souls."

CHAPTER XIII.

FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE.

Those family bereavements which awakened Mr. Chalmers' earliest religious anxieties, exerted a like influence over his sister Jane. She was already a peculiar favourite, and the sympathy thus generated gave her a double claim upon his affections. At the very season of his own solicitude she consulted him, as to the true ground of peace and hope towards God, and it was not without benefit to himself that he undertook to guide another Writing to her husband, Mr. Morton, a year after their marriage, he says:—"My prayer is, that you may both go on and prosper in the good cause which you have adopted; that the Saviour may every day become more precious to you, His atonement more rested in, His law more revered, His Spirit more felt and more depended on. Jane's deep interest in these subjects was an instrument of mighty advantage to myself, and from my conversation with her I date a most salutary revolution in my sentiments and views." Well aware that to those who have been finally removed to a great distance from a well-known and much-loved neighbourhood, the most trifling information possesses interest, Mr. Chalmers in his correspondence with Mrs. Morton descended to the humblest local intelligence, the minutest incidents in the family history of friends and parishioners being faithfully chronicled. The last page, however, of each letter was "devoted to the great concern." Bringing these last pages together, let us pre-

sent this portion of the correspondence by itself, and for the whole of that brief period during which Mr. Chalmers continued in Kilmany, interposing at their proper dates extracts from letters addressed to his sister Helen, and to his brothers Patrick and Charles.

"Kilmany Manse, *April* 21, 1812.

"My Dear Jane,—I have begun a course of sermons lately with my people, in which I follow a certain order of subjects. First, the inflexibility of the Divine justice; secondly, the sin which renders one and all of us amenable to that justice, and throws every individual of the human race into a dark and unsheltered state of condemnation; then the remedy. It really is a vast improvement to oneself to write upon a given subject; it rivets and illuminates one's own conceptions of the point in question; and I must say, that I never had so close and satisfactory a view of the gospel salvation as when I have been led to contemplate it in the light of a simple offer on the one side, and a simple acceptance on the other. It is just saying to one and all of us,—There is forgiveness through the blood of my Son, take it; and whoever believes the reality of the offer takes it. It is not in any shape the reward of our own services; for when you let them into the acceptance, you lay the whole open to apprehension and despair. It is the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord. It is not given because you are worthy to receive it, but because it is a gift worthy of our kind and reconciled Father to bestow. We are apt to stagger at the greatness of the unmerited offer, and cannot attach faith to it till we have made up some title of our own. This leads to two mischievous consequences. It keeps alive the presumption of one class of Christians, who will still be thinking that it is something in themselves and of themselves which confers upon them a right to salvation; and it confirms the melancholy

of another class, who look into their own hearts and their own lives, and find that they cannot make out a shadow of a title to the Divine favour. The error of both lies in looking to themselves when they should be looking to the Saviour: 'Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth.' The Son of man was so lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. It is your part simply to lay hold of the offered boon. You are invited to do so, you are entreated to do so—nay, what is more, you are commanded to do so. It is true you are unworthy, and without holiness no man can see God; but 'be not afraid, only believe.' You cannot get holiness of yourself, but Christ has undertaken to provide it for you. It is one of those spiritual blessings of which He has the dispensation, and which He has promised to all who believe in Him. God has promised that with His Son He will freely give you all things—that He will walk in you and dwell in you—that He will purify your heart by faith—that He will put His law in your heart, and write it in your mind. These are the effects of your believing in Christ, and not the services by which you become entitled to believe in Him. Make a clear outset in the business, and understand that your first step is simply a confiding acceptance of an offer that is most free, most frank, most generous, and most unconditional.

"My prayer to God is, that He would work the work of faith with power in your heart, that He would draw you to Christ, that He would open your understanding to understand the Scriptures, and that through the patience and comfort of these Scriptures you may have hope."

"*Kilmany Manse, August 7th,* 1812.—I do not know that a single day has elapsed since seeing you in which I have not remembered you; and believing, as I do, that the prayer of faith ascending to heaven, and bringing down from it the

things prayed for, is a *real process*, I ask your prayers, and trust to have the benefit of them. You could certainly, through Sir Thomas Acland, have access to the 'Eighth Report of the Bible Society.' Read it, my dear sister. I would strongly recommend the cheap Repository to you for distribution among your neighbours. You get hundreds of them for a mere trifle. You may inquire for them under the name of 'Religious Tracts,' published by a Society in London. The reading of them would go far to strengthen and stablish your own heart, and the distribution of them would be a work and labour of love worthy of a Christian. After you have encouraged a taste for reading among your servants and neighbours, you may restrain the gratuitous distribution of them; and on the principle of a thing bought being more valued than a thing given, you may get the bookseller of Dulverton interested in the sale of them. This process I mean to follow in my own parish; and, be assured, that no individual is too private or too obscure for the great work of turning sons and daughters unto righteousness."

"*November* 6*th*, 1812.—You were perfectly right in communicating to —— that part of your family arrangements which related to family worship. It has given sincere joy to ——; nor am I able to express the pleasure and thankfulness with which it has filled me. I have no doubt that family worship is often maintained in houses where vital religion does not exist; but where it is adopted from the impulse of conviction, I regard it as a symptom to be rejoiced in; and my prayer is, that you may all have great peace and joy in the better part that you have chosen; that you may feel how secure a habitation you arrive at by coming unto Christ, and taking shelter under the ample canopy of His mediatorship; that your reconciled Father may fulfil in you all the good pleasure of His goodness; and that looking unto Him for the promised influence of

His Spirit, you may die every day unto sin and live unto righteousness.

"I rejoice to hear of your Sunday school. I once thought of one here; but it occurs to me, that however salutary in England, it is not so necessary here. I am doubtful of the propriety of detaching the children from their parents, their natural guardians, who feel that the responsibility lies with them. This does not apply to your attempt at all, and I would rejoice to hear the particulars of your success. The English peasantry have not that respect for the Sabbath, nor that degree of qualification, which we have in this country; and you do a kind, and I trust an effectual, service to young people, by the labour that you bestow upon them.

"It delights me to perceive that Miss —— seems at length to have arrived at that rest which the Saviour has pledged Himself to give to all who come unto Him: and with rest He will give all other spiritual blessings. That sanctification which out of Christ none can reach, is only found in close union with Him; and if we maintain what may be called the *gospel attitude of the mind, which is looking unto Jesus,* we shall obtain of His Spirit, we shall be changed into His image, we shall be strengthened for all duty; and that noble system of reconciliation with God, beginning with an act of confidence, will at last terminate in all the graces and accomplishments of the Christian character, will have its fruit unto holiness, and in the end everlasting life."

"*January 5th,* 1813.—As to the most urgent subject of your letter, I hope that no formal certificate is necessary, and that it will be sustained as a sufficient testimony of my willingness to stand a godfather to my dear nephew, if I simply announce my willingness in this way, and request Mr. Morton to be my proxy. I shall, however, subjoin a more formal declaration at

the end of the letter, which may be torn off and presented to the clergyman if necessary. I may say to you, that in accepting this office, I feel the duty and responsibility which attach to it. I feel myself drawn to your dear infant by a relation more tender and more important than that which nature has created; and pray that, if both of us be preserved, every influence which I may bring to bear upon him in future life may conduce to the great interests of his imperishable soul. I feel the utmost gratitude to the kind Father of all for the comforts of your life, and pray for the increase and continuance of His mercies. O let us connect every joy with the hand of the Giver; and in the manifold blessings which he scatters around the path of this world's journey, may we never forget that it is a journey, and must have a termination. I enter, my dear Jane, into all your sensations, and figure your domestic comforts; and whether it be your respectable husband, your smiling infant, your affectionate relatives, your secure competency, and, above all, your growing sense of God, and of His merciful and reconciled countenance, I can see a thousand reasons for gratitude to Him who makes all and who gives all. It is delightful to think of the largeness of His liberality. We give way to dark and narrow suspicions as to the extent of His kindness; but, to use a Bible phrase, it is not He that is straitened as to us, it is we that are straitened as to Him. He will perfect the good work that is begun in us; He is not unfaithful. I ask this simple question—Did you ever, or do you now, annex a feeling of comfort and security to the idea of Christ and of His salvation? What is this but having fellowship with Christ? It is holding communion with Him in the most characteristic of all his capacities—the capacity of your Saviour. Now, mark the promise that is given to such fellowship: God is not unfaithful who hath called us to the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. For our comfort

He pledges His fidelity; and as sure as God is true, and His promises are unfailing, all who trust in the Saviour may look up for the fulfilment of this large and liberal assurance: He gave His own Son for us; how much more shall He not with Him freely give us all things? I feel that matrimony brings a very large accession of deep and serious and tender feeling along with it. I am sure that I would not have had half the interest in your family without my wife that I now have with one. I have been supremely fortunate in being allied with the mildest and gentlest and most sweetly accommodating of women, who takes a large interest in my professional business, and is, I hope, under those saving and salutary influences which I pray may be imparted to all, and at last bring us all together in perfect blessedness to the throne of God."

"*February 15th*, 1813.—I know not a more serious drawback to mixed society than the exclusion of all conversation about the one thing needful; and it comes to be a serious question, How are you to get the better of it?—Are you to lift your testimony against it? This zeal would prompt; but we are also called to walk *in wisdom* towards those that are without. There must be a way of introducing the topic, so as to make a useful impression, so as to conciliate prejudice, so as to win if possible rather than repel. I confess it is to me a thing beset with many difficulties, and I fear that an unmanly shame may have some share in it. It is certainly wrong to disguise it from others that you look upon eternity as your uppermost concern. Disguise this, and you add the sanction of your example to their exclusive indulgence in the frivolities of time —you add to the multitude of stumblingblocks or offences which lie in the way of others. It is delightful that there is a promise annexed to the prayer for wisdom; and I know not a more delicate subject for the application of wisdom than the

one I am now insisting on. I look upon the exercise of writing to you as a mighty relief from that unvaried tone of secularity and alienation from God which prevails in the world; and it would give me the truest pleasure to understand that you are rising in your sense of the importance of eternity, and that peace and joy mingle in your contemplations. For this purpose, let me advise you to look to the Saviour. Some people perplex themselves by looking too much inwards. It is clear that the object to be looked at is out of us, and that it is by fastening our contemplations on Him who was lifted up for the sins of the world that we are saved. I like the determined style of faith which I have found in English writers. One of them says, 'If I am to perish, let me perish *here*'—meaning at the foot of that Cross on which his eyes are fastened. I have heard a fine observation by a divine of our day upon this subject. He says, that those of the children of Israel who looked to the brazen serpent may not all have had a very distinct and positive conviction that they were to be cured by so doing; still, however, they lifted up their eyes, and were healed. The very act of lifting up their eyes implied a certain degree of expectation, and, slender as it was, it gave rise to an act which landed in their recovery from the serpents' bite. Now, some perplex themselves with inquiring into the degree of their faith, and summon up a number of questions which are very difficult, and sometimes insoluble. Now, though you cannot look into your own heart, and find there such a degree of faith as satisfies, you may look out of you unto Jesus. The very act of so looking implies some hope, some faith; and as all who looked unto the brazen serpent were healed, so all who look unto Jesus shall be saved. Their faith may not be so lively, so distinct, so intense in degree as they expected, still there is some degree of it implied in the very act of looking. It may be small, but think of the promise

annexed to that faith which was so very small that it was compared to a grain of mustard-seed: 'Look unto me,' says He, 'all ye ends of the earth, and be saved.' And the salvation is not put off till the time when you shall go in person to heaven. It is begun on earth; and as it consisteth in salvation from the power of sin as well as from its punishment, be assured that from the first moment of your looking unto the Saviour, He begins the good work of carrying on your redemption, redeeming you from all your iniquities, (Titus ii. 14,) giving you a measure of His Spirit, (John vii. 39; iv. 14,) conforming you to His image, (2 Cor. iii. 18,) carrying you on from one degree of grace unto another, till you arrive at a complete obedience to the will of God. Cast your care upon Him, and He is pledged to do all this. He is able to do it all, and Christ will be made unto you wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

The letter from which the following extract is taken was addressed to his sister Helen, afterwards married to the Rev. Mr. Maclellan, minister of Kelton, who had accompanied her sister to England, and was now living at Heelbridge:—

"Kilmany Manse, *May* 24, 1818.

"Jane knows the usual appropriation of my last page, and it is a subject of too much importance to be omitted at any time; nor do I know a happier change that a human soul can undergo than to pass from a state of indifference about religion to the feeling of it as the main concern of existence. There is a text of Scripture highly applicable to the great majority of those who think that, upon the strength of a few established decencies, which bring them to a *par* with their neighbours around them, all will go well and comfortably enough with them. Jeremiah viii. 11, 'For they have healed the hurt of

the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace.' They do not see the necessity of making religion that very earnest and particular thing which every true Christian will make it. They go very slightly to work in the business of healing the hurt of their souls, and feel a peace in the superficial remedy of forms, and decency, and a fair average of character and reputation in their neighbourhood;—all the while the heart may remain as alienated from God as ever, the love of Him be as unfelt as before, the high standard of Christian obedience be never thought of or aspired after, and, above all, the great Physician, who alone can heal the hurt to the very bottom, be neither repaired to nor rested on. This is slight work, yet it is all that is done by the vast majority of professing Christians, and it satisfies them. The atonement of the Cross is the only sufficient and authorized remedy for sin, and all are invited to lay hold of it. Some seek for the ground of peace in themselves, and they either take up with a deceitful remedy, or, not finding what they want, give themselves up to the agony of anxious helplessness. The right way is to look unto Jesus as lifted up for sin; and we have His own authority for saying that whosoever so looketh shall be saved—saved from sin in all its malignity—saved not merely from its condemnation, but its power—redeemed from its curse, (Gal. iii. 13,) and redeemed from its dominion, (Rom. vi. 14,) so that by the operation of this alone remedy, we are washed, and sanctified, and justified in the name of our Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God. (1 Cor. vi. 11.) This is a decisive remedy. There is no slightness, no feebleness in such an application as this. It goes farther than to the reformation of a few points; it is something more than a slight covering of outward decency; it reaches the very heart, and accomplishes a change so thorough and decisive, that the New Testament represents it by being born again, (John iii. 3,) by being transformed by the re-

newing of our minds, (Rom. xii. 2,) by putting on the new man, (Eph. iv. 24,) &c. &c. I can easily conceive that a person to whom all this appears strange and new may be startled at the magnitude of the change, and upon the very natural idea that it was he himself who was to accomplish it, may give up every attempt under the discouraging sense of its total impracticability. Under this impression, I can conceive him reduced to the question of 'What shall I do?'—a Scripture question, and for which I have a Scripture answer in readiness, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ;' 'Be not afraid, only believe.' You may well suspect your own competency to bring about so decisive and great an alteration upon your own heart, but you have no reason to suspect the competency of the Saviour. It is His business, and He knows how to go about it; and, be assured, that from the first moment of your resigning yourself in confidence to the Saviour's hands, there will emerge the new hope of the redeemed and the new life of the sanctified disciple."

"*August* 31*st*, 1813.—It will give me the utmost pleasure to understand that the agitations of uncertainty respecting this world's riches have led you to draw closer to that living God who giveth us all things richly to enjoy. It is delightful to think that whatsoever we ask in prayer, *believing*, we shall receive. The condition upon which you get is that you believe you shall get it. (Mark xi. 24.) Now, you will observe that this qualifying clause restricts the prayer to certain objects. You cannot pray believingly for riches; you cannot pray believingly for a continuance in your present situation; you cannot fasten on another situation, and pray believingly that God would translate you there; and why? Because you know not if these things be agreeable to the will of God. This want of knowledge prevents an absolute belief; and hence, though you do pray for the things above specified, you may not get

them. You may pray for them in the following terms:—'Lord, if it be Thy will,' &c. But there are certain other objects which you have a full warrant to pray believingly for, and which believing, you may pray absolutely for, and obtain them. You may rest assured that He will hear if you ask according to His will. (1 John v. 14.) Now there are many such objects made known to us in the Bible, and forming the promises which are yea and amen in Christ Jesus. The Holy Spirit is one of these, (Gal. iii. 14; Luke xi. 13;) wisdom is another, (James i. 5;) the general object of salvation is a third, (1 Tim. ii. 4.) Now, what I would like to press upon all who are beset with anxieties about the future days they are to live in this world, is, that daily bread is one of these objects. It is agreeable to the will of God that you ask it, for it is the very petition which the Son of God taught His disciples. You have a full warrant for believing then that you shall get it, and according to the faith of your prayer so will it be done unto you. This harmonizes with the precept, 'Take not thought,' or, as it should have been rendered, 'Be not thoughtful,' 'Be not anxious about the things of to-morrow.' I shall only add, that if the most anxious and unhappy men of the world were examined as to the ground of their disquietude, it would be found in 999 cases out of the 1000, that the provision of this day was not the ground of it. They carry forward their imaginations to a distant futurity, and fill it up with the spectres of melancholy and despair. What a world of unhappiness would be saved if the things of the day were to occupy all our hearts—the duties, the employments, the services of the day; and as to the morrow, how delightful to think that we have the sure warrant of God for believing, that by committing its issue in quietness to Him, when the future day comes the provision of that day will come along with it. Feel yourself to be in the hand of God, and you will not be afraid because of evil tidings. (Ps. cxii. 7.)"

During the spring and summer of 1813, three topics of family anxiety existed. His brother Patrick's efforts to obtain a permanent settlement in life proved fruitless; his brother Charles' health gave way; while Mr. Morton, obliged to remove from Heelbridge, was plunged amid uncertainties as to his future residence and occupation. To each variety of anxiety Mr. Chalmers sought to apply the only sufficient remedy.

"KILMANY MANSE, *May* 7, 1813.

"MY DEAR PATRICK,—In the last conversation which I held with you relative to your future prospects, I was quite aware how natural it is to fix our anticipations, and to regret that these should be pushed forward a year or two beyond what we had previously calculated in our own minds. I trust that you will some time or other obtain a comfortable settlement; but what I am most anxious to press upon you, not merely as a point of prudence, but as a point of Christian principle, is a submissive accommodation to present circumstances. Time elapses sooner than we have any idea of, and it is our wisdom not to throw away our peace by fretful or anxious impatience. I have often heard the phrase, that *a man loses so much of his life* who suffers so many years of it to pass away without reaching an independent establishment. If it be due to his own idleness, the phrase is accurate enough; if due to the necessity of circumstances, I maintain it is quite an unchristian perversion of language. He does not lose life, he only loses that which our Saviour (the justness of whose computation no Christian will deny) says is less than life: 'Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment.' The great purposes of his being may be carrying on; his soul may be ripening for eternity; the good work begun in his heart may be prospering; the salutary lessons of patience and contentment may be practising; and, in short, to say that life or any part

of it is losing because you are not drawing towards an earthly competency so fast as you could wish, is making the 'meat which perisheth' take the precedency of that which 'endureth unto everlasting life.' It will give me pleasure to understand that these sentiments are not merely admitted by you as true, but actually proceeded upon. Be assured that the wished for object will not be longer in coming about that the time before it is filled up with contentment and piety."

"KILMANY MANSE, *August* 3, 1813.

"DEAR CHARLES,—It gives both me and Mrs. Chalmers great concern that you should be in so poor a state of health, and it is our joint wish and invitation that you should come to Kilmany for a change of air. * * * In the mean time, I would by all means advise you to keep free of anxiety, as I am persuaded that this has had a powerful influence on your health; and if ever one receipt was more effectual than another for keeping down anxiety, it is that reach of mind which carries its possessor forward to eternity, and by making him feel that his main interest is there, gives their proper size and importance to the little interests which lie between. When the powers of the world to come have full influence, they not only stimulate to all duty, but they mitigate all distress; and they impart the twofold advantage of giving more activity to the exertion, and less pungency to the disappointment, should the earthly object of the exertion fail."

"KILMANY MANSE, *March* 9, 1814.

"I trust that my dear Jane will bury all her fears in the sufficiency of the Saviour. He is a hiding-place from the storm. He refuses Himself to none who apply to Him; and if Christ is yours, all things are yours. This promise includes things present as well as things to come. Depend upon Him

for all that is necessary to life, as well as for all that is necessary to godliness. O what a fund of comfort and of fulness to repair to at all times! None who believe on Him shall be confounded. Heaven and earth may pass away, but the word of this promise shall not pass away."

"*April 20th,* 1814.—It gives me great pleasure to think that the one thing needful remains with you. Seek it first, and the other things will be added; and why should we despair of attaining, in the face of the promise, 'He who seeketh findeth?' I have sometimes laboured after a clearer view of divine things than I have yet gotten, after a fulfilment of the promise—'I will manifest myself unto you,' and should like vastly to realize what it is to have the light of the Divine countenance upon me. Some despair because they want these manifestations. They are wrong. There may be a stronger exercise of faith with the want of these manifestations than with the presence of them. God gives light when it pleases Him, and it is our exercise of faith to wait for it. The want of light is not incompatible with trust in God. (Is. l. 10.) We may not have a clear and exhilarating view of the Saviour at the very time that we are showing faith in and love to Him by keeping His commandments; and the keeping of these commandments is the very way prescribed by the Saviour for arriving at the manifestations. (John xiv. 21.) Well, then, you do not have a clear apprehension of Christ, but you may have a clear enough apprehension of the common and everyday duties He lays upon you—forgiveness, well-doing, patience, freedom from anxiety about worldly matters, &c. &c. Bind yourself firmly and faithfully to what you do clearly know; and you have the promise of manifestation as to those things which you do not clearly know. In other words, be doing at your plain and intelligible

duties, and the fruit of your doings will be the very light and clearness that you aspire after. It is the natural tendency of employment to divert melancholy; and how delightful to perceive the coincidence between the natural and revealed orders. At the same time, if I have any experience I can speak clearly upon at all—it is that I am never more qualified for keeping the commandments than when in fellowship with the Saviour, and resting upon His righteousness—than when under the influence of gospel hope, and looking upon the salvation of Christ as all a matter of grace and freeness. But the power of obedience is part of this salvation. If you rely on the blood of Christ, you will obtain forgiveness—if you rely on the Spirit of Christ, you will obtain sanctification; and when the spirit of adoption is at length given—when you go out and in with filial confidence, and have free access to your reconciled Father, then the work of obedience becomes as easy and delightful as the duties of affection to the friend you most love. I feel myself far, and very far, from what I conceive on this subject; but let us press forward, my dear Jane; let us support one another; and in the meanwhile, let us, in reliance upon the Spirit, and in prayerful dependence on the name of Christ, aim at the keeping of His commandments."

"*July* 20*th*, 1814.—I trust that my dear Jane is still placing her confidence on the right ground—a ground which never can give way from under us, even the sure and unfailing foundation of Christ Jesus. God is not a man that He should lie. This is an awful consideration to those who are not looking to the Saviour, and put no faith in His sayings; for the only way in which God can acquit Himself of lying to them—the only way in which He can vindicate His truth and justice upon them, is by executing the curse of His violated law. But to those who take refuge, the truth and justice of God would be violated if

they were condemned. Christ became a curse for them; and the solemn assertion that all who call on His name shall be saved, would be falsified, and God be made a liar, were they who believe in Christ to enter into condemnation. Look not unto yourself, but look unto Jesus. Think of His truth, of His willingness, of His power, and the truth of God requires your salvation. The very justice, which is a ground of terror to the unbeliever, is a ground of consolation and hope to the believer; and accordingly it is said that God is *faithful* and *just* to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all our unrighteousness. Oh! that the last promise were making a sensible accomplishment upon us—that we were getting a release from the power of sin as well as from its punishment—that we were growing every day in mildness, in patience, in love, and in all the fruits of that blessed Spirit which Christ has at His giving, and which He pours abundantly on all who ask it. It is pleasant to think that the work of sanctification—a work the difficulties of which would fill us with terror were it altogether ours—is made a work of peaceful and very easy performance by God working in us. The very God of peace sanctify you wholly, enable you to endure trial, and to count it all joy when you fall into it, and guide you in safety through those many tribulations by which we enter into the kingdom of God."

"*July* 22*d*, 1814.—It is said of the Captain of our salvation, that He was made perfect by suffering. We have the same discipline to undergo; and oh that we could reach such a degree of faith and of conformity to the will of God as to count it all joy when we fall into divers temptations. Christ says, In the world ye shall have tribulations. This is our lot. It is through many such that we shall enter the kingdom of God. He bids us, however, be of good cheer, not because there is to be any change in our lot upon this side of time, not because

He engages to remove the tribulations, but because, says He, 'I have overcome the world.' It is not promised that the ill should be removed, but that we shall be furnished with strength for the endurance of it. He who overcame the world Himself, can enable His followers to do the same. We should be prepared to suffer the will of God concerning us; and our prayer should be directed not so much to the removal of the suffering, as to strengthen the inner man unto all patience and long-suffering with joyfulness. Let us not lay our account with enjoyment here—let us not build on this side of time; and when disappointments come, we shall not think that any strange thing hath happened to us. It alleviates a misfortune much when we count upon it, and when it comes to us as a matter of course. God is a very present help in the time of trouble. He has promised daily bread. I feel my affection drawn out to you, my dearest Jane; and I pray daily that God would release your family from their temporal perplexities; and, above all, that your souls may be exceeding precious in His sight. God hath the hearts of all men in His hands—He can raise up friends, and He can make a man's enemies be at peace with him."

"*November* 30*th*, 1814.—Let me know the progress of your views and experiences in the matters of religion. Repentance is not one act of the mind; it is a course of acting by which we die daily unto sin. Regeneration is not confined to one great step in the history of the soul; it is only the commencement of the influence of certain principles, which strengthen by daily exercise. Our inner man is *renewed* day by day, says the apostle Paul. But in all this care about the progress of sanctification, let us not lose hold of Him who is the head of all influence and strength for the work of sanctification. My chief difficulty is to combine a rejoicing dependence upon the

Spirit, with a personal activity on my part as the result of the Spirit's influence. I can understand how it is God who worketh in me; but I should like such a view of it as may consist with my own diligent working. We may be sure that the effect of His working in us is that we work ourselves. (Phil. ii. 12, 13.) Now the teaching of the Holy Ghost, which I stand much in need of, is to combine the simplicity of faith and dependence upon the promises of strength, with an actual putting forth of that strength, so as at one and the same time to *rest* and *run*—rest upon God, and run in the way of His commandments. God will reveal this unto me if I pray for it, and will not refuse this wisdom if I ask it in faith. Have you met with any of Owen's works?—they are all good. I have read him on 'Indwelling Sin' and 'Temptation' lately, and I am now reading him on 'Mortification.' He is a most skilful discerner into the human heart; and I am now beginning, since I read him, to be released from that dark and mysterious conception, which I wont to annex to the phrase, 'Experimental religion.'"

"*May 24th*, 1815.—My thoughts have often been directed of late to the office of God's Spirit as an enlightener. There is a natural darkness which cannot be done away but by God shining on our hearts; and it is right that we should feel our dependence on Him, not merely for the truths of Scripture, but also for our spiritual discernment of these truths. But it deserves to be well kept in mind, that though the Spirit is a revealer, it reveals nothing to us additional to what we learn in the written record. It does not make us wise above that which is written, but it makes us wise up to that which is written. The word of God is called the sword of the Spirit: it is the instrument by which the Spirit worketh. He does not meet with us on any other ground than on that of the

written Revelation; and hence our security, on the one hand, against the visionary pretences of those who talk of their revelations additional to that which is written; and our duty on the other, to go diligently and sober-mindedly to our Bibles, but to go with the attitude of dependence on Him who can alone open our understandings to understand them, and show us wondrous things out of His law; and, without carrying us beyond the field of the written record, can throw a clearness and a spiritual light over every object within that field."

CHAPTER XIV.

PUBLICATION OF "THE EVIDENCES AND AUTHORITY OF THE CHRISTIAN REVELATION"—PROGRESS OF OPINION AS TO THE INTERNAL EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY—HUME'S ESSAY ON MIRACLES—ORIGIN OF HIS VIEWS ON PAUPERISM—PAMPHLET ON "THE INFLUENCE OF BIBLE SOCIETIES ON THE TEMPORAL NECESSITIES OF THE POOR"—REVIEW OF CUVIER'S "THEORY OF THE EARTH"—THE INDEFINITE ANTIQUITY OF THE GLOBE RECONCILABLE WITH THE MOSAIC NARRATIVE—CONTRIBUTION TO THE "ECLECTIC REVIEW" ON THE MORAVIANS AS MISSIONARIES.

THE volume of the "Edinburgh Encyclopædia" which contained the article "Christianity" was published early in 1813. Although its title was so general, this article was restricted to the illustration and enforcement of the evidence and authority of the Christian Revelation; and its author narrowed still more the ground which it occupied by confining the evidence of the divine origin of Christianity to the external or historical proofs, resting his argument chiefly, though not exclusively, upon the testimony transmitted to us as to the reality of the gospel miracles. The originality of many of its investigations, and more particularly the new light which it threw upon the relative value of scriptural and ex-scriptural, of Christian and heathen testimonies, enhancing the force of the Christian argument beyond all former appreciation, attracted immediate attention, and won just and very general applause. Its author, however, was not permitted to believe that he had altogether rightly or fully acquitted himself of the great task which he had undertaken. A few weeks after its publication, and before any public no-

tice of it had appeared, his friend Dr. Charles Stuart, in an interview at Edinburgh, had very earnestly remonstrated with him on his rejection and condemnation of that very branch of the Evidences of Christianity on which the faith of the vast majority of its followers was founded. "I feel greatly interested in the subject of our last conversation," Mr. Chalmers wrote thus to Dr. Stuart on his return to Kilmany; "and as you may have perceived, from what I said, or rather from what I did not say, I have not yet arrived at a right settlement of opinion about it. That many reach saving faith without any knowledge of the external evidence of religion, is undeniable; and that external evidence does not necessarily draw along with it saving faith, is equally so. Still, however, I cannot think that any antecedent knowledge of ours as to the ways of God entitles us to sit in judgment upon the subject of any message accredited by those external proofs, which are a sign to those who do not believe. There may be something in the subject which may allure me to it, which may lead me to prize it, and to abide by it; and I do not see that the Spirit of God may not by an immediate work of illumination give me a belief of the truth, without the intervention of any of those links of argument which may be drawn out into a lengthened demonstration."*

Influenced by the reception which it had experienced from the readers of the Encyclopædia, the proprietors of that work, among whom were some of the leading publishers in Edinburgh, not only permitted, but were themselves the first to advise that the article should be reprinted in a separate form. In adopting their suggestion, Mr. Chalmers prefixed a short advertisement to the volume, evidently intended to break in some degree the force of those objections which such friends as Dr. Stuart had urged. "This volume," he said, "is confined to the expo-

* Extracted from a letter dated May 24, 1813.

sition of the historical argument for the truth of Christianity, and the aim of the author is fulfilled if he has succeeded in proving the external testimony to be so sufficient as to leave infidelity without excuse, even though the remaining important branches of the Christian defence had been less strong and satisfactory than they are. The author is far from asserting the study of the historical evidence to be the only channel to a faith in the truth of Christianity. How could he, in the face of the obvious fact that there are thousands and thousands of Christians who bear the most undeniable marks of the truth having come home to their understanding, 'in demonstration of the Spirit and of power?' They have an evidence within themselves which the world knoweth not, even the promised manifestations of the Saviour. This evidence is a 'sign to them that believe,' but the Bible speaks also of a 'sign to them that believe not;' and should it be effectual in reclaiming any of these from their infidelity, a mighty object is gained by the exhibition of it." Although this explanatory statement was prefixed, the same sweeping condemnations of the internal evidence were, with some slight modifications, retained; and, as the work gained rapidly in popularity, the solicitude of such friendly critics as Dr. Stuart was stimulated, instead of being allayed. Besides many private communications, the works of some of the ablest writers on the internal evidence were forwarded to Kilmany; in acknowledging which, Mr. Chalmers wrote thus to Dr. Stuart:—"Of the other books which I returned, I read 'Edwards on the Religious Affections,' &c. &c. He is to me the most exciting and interesting of all theological writers: combining a humility, and a plainness, and a piety which the philosophers of the day would nauseate as low and drivelling, with a degree of sagacity and talent which, even on their own field, places him at the head of them all. Poor Fuller's death affected me much.

He filled a great space in public estimation; and his loss must be severely felt by all the friends of Christianity both at home and in India. I have not yet made out his 'Sermons,' but I read his 'Gospel its own Witness' lately; and though I have not yet been able to sit formally or deliberately down to the Internal Evidences, yet I feel myself excited to think of them occasionally, and pray that, by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, I may be enabled to mature my thoughts on everything connected with the essential elements of faith and practice. Your occasional hints on this subject have been a useful excitement to me; and I wish you to understand, that, so far from taking offence at your observations, or interpreting them into a wish to involve me in a controversy, I feel the utmost gratitude for the friendly attention and fatherly care I have ever experienced at your hands."* Mr. Chalmers' removal to Glasgow in

* Charles Stuart, M.D., of Dunearn, to whose character and many Christian and benevolent efforts Dr. M'Crie has paid a just and beautiful tribute.—See *Life of Dr. M'Crie*, p. 447. Dr. Stuart was rather fond of controversy. A favourite topic with him was the true nature of Saving Faith, on which subject he regarded Dr. Chalmers as being in error. Among other methods of circulating what he believed to be the only correct view of saving faith, Dr. Stuart had republished two extracts from the works of Samuel Pike, entitling the tract, to which he had prefixed a preface, "Brief Thoughts concerning the Gospel," &c. Without knowing anything about Dr. Stuart's connexion with it, Dr. Chalmers had read one of the London Society's tracts, called "Hindrances to Believing the Gospel," which was in fact the second part of "Brief Thoughts," &c. Shortly afterwards the two friends met on the streets of Edinburgh. A long and eager conversation ensued. Street after street was paced, and argument after argument on either side was vigorously plied. At last, however, his time or his patience exhausted, Dr. Chalmers broke up the interview; but as at parting he shook the hand of the amiable though somewhat pertinacious controversialist, he said, "If you wish to see my views stated clearly and distinctly, read a tract called 'Hindrances to Believing the Gospel.'" "Why," said Dr. Stuart, "that's the very tract I published myself!" The corner of the street—the heat of the argument, gathering additional intensity as it was about to be broken off—his own eager, and as he thought most satisfactory closing exclamation—the look of wonder, running up into ecstasy, which Dr. Stuart fixed on him as he uttered it—all these fixed themselves in Dr. Chalmers' memory; and he used often to describe the parting scene as a proof how easily it may happen, that men think that they differ, while really they agree.

1815, and the blaze of unexampled popularity which attended his opening ministry in that city, lent an additional interest to his first theological work; and the periodical press, which in this instance had been content to follow rather than to guide the public voice, began to bestow attention upon the volume.* In the January number of the "Edinburgh Christian Instructor," and in the July number of the "Quarterly Review" for 1817, critiques appeared, which, differing in the measure of general praise awarded, united in condemning the manner in which the Internal Evidences had been set aside. In the following year a very able and elaborate little volume was published, bearing the ominous title, "Principles of Christian Evidence illustrated, by an examination of arguments subversive of Natural Theology and the Internal Evidence of Christianity, advanced by Dr. T. Chalmers in his 'Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation.' By Duncan Mearns, D.D., Professor of Theology in King's College and University, Aberdeen."† Assuming as the basis of its reasonings a few sentences from the article "Christianity," in the Encyclopædia, some of which I shall immediately have occasion to quote, Dr. Mearns pursues to their ultimate consequences the principles which they contain, arriving at the following result:—"It thus appears that the principles upon which Dr. Chalmers' system of 'Christian Evidences' is constructed, not only subvert the conclusions of natural theology with the internal evidence, but destroy also the external proofs; and that the various arguments he employs in support of his system are destructive of each other, and of the objects at which he aims. * * * If Dr. Chalmers had limited his endeavours to the conversion of the thorough-paced sceptic, * * * his attempt would have been harmless, and

* Two favourable notices had already appeared, in the "Christian Herald" of March 1815, and in the "Christian Observer" of April in the same year.

† Aberdeen, 1818, 12mo.

might have passed unnoticed. But when he makes common cause with the sceptic,—when he adopts his principles, or rather his negation of principles,—when, on the part of Christianity, he forms an alliance with Atheism, the basest of her foes,—and when, sacrificing the internal evidence as the seal of this monstrous confederacy, he turns the arms of Christianity against natural religion, her ancient and faithful ally, his proceedings no longer possess the character of harmless inanity. Nor can the imaginary advantage above adverted to—an advantage which, even were it real, is too limited in extent to be of any great account, be permitted to screen from exposure principles so extensively destructive as those which are employed to obtain it."*—Pp. 182, 184, 185. Shunning all controversy, Dr. Chalmers turned this attack into another stimulus to think more carefully upon the subject, and to pray more earnestly that, by the teaching of the Spirit, he might be guided into all truth. His original assertions, out of which a severe and unsparing logic wrung such consequences, had respect only to one form of internal evidence, that which was framed on the harmony between the particular scheme of the Divine economy revealed in the New Testament, and our preconceived and independent judgments of the attributes of God, and the principles and policy of His government. In originally framing his argument for Christianity, he sought to construct it in full accordance with the spirit and methods of the inductive philosophy and to free it from many encumbrances in which it had been involved, by denying the competency of

* In the "Christian Instructor" for March 1819, a review of Dr. Mearns' volume was inserted, the severity of which evoked a bitterly sarcastic pamphlet, entitled "Remarks on the Edinburgh Christian Instructor's Review of Dr. Mearns' 'Principles of Christian Evidence;' with a Proposal for publishing and circulating, under the sanction of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, an improved edition of that Review, humbly submitted to the consideration of Dr. Chalmers' friends. By Venusinus. London, 1819."

reason to receive or reject an accredited revelation, simply because of its accordance or its discrepancy with our own original ideas of what God is, or what God ought to do. But comparatively unversed at that time in the literature of the subject, and with his mind only opening to the philosophy of those very spiritual processes which he was himself describing, he extended to every kind of internal evidence a condemnation which could with propriety be applied to one form of it alone.

It was not till 1829, soon after his appointment to the Chair of Theology in Edinburgh, that he published anything additional upon the Christian Evidences, or gave public indication of what the fruits had been of those attacks which his first small treatise had provoked. In the preface to a volume entitled "The Christian's Defence against Infidelity," published in that year, he says:—"We firmly believe that there is no one position in Theology which can be more strongly and more philosophically sustained than the self-evidencing power of the Bible. And while we award our meed of praise to the writers of the previous treatises in this volume, who have raised such a collective body of evidence to meet and overthrow the no less impotent than impious assaults of infidelity, yet do we hold Dr. Owen to have rendered a more essential service to the cause of Divine revelation, when, by his clear and irresistible demonstrations, he has proved that the written word itself possesses a self-evidencing light and power for manifesting its own divine original, superior to the testimony of eye-witnesses, or the evidence of miracles, or those supernatural gifts with which the first teachers of Christianity were endowed for accrediting their Divine mission." In 1836, he undertook to add to his original volume what might render it a comprehensive treatise on the Evidences of Christianity. The chapter on prophecy, the meagreness of which had been complained of, was greatly enlarged; the part now occupied with the internal equalled

that assigned to the external evidence of Christianity; whilst, in amalgamating the original volume with the new matter with which it was associated, he introduced important alterations, indicative of the growth and enlargement of the author's ideas.* Tracing the whole history of his conceptions and belief upon this subject, from the first expression of them in the article in the "Encyclopædia" to the last and most matured expression of them in his "Institutes of Theology," we shall scarcely find a finer instance upon record of a mind attaching itself to the Scriptures, making an entire and unconditional

* I subjoin a few instances of the alterations made upon the article "Christianity," as it originally appeared in the Encyclopædia:—

"We may sit in judgment upon the subject of the message, or we may sit in judgment upon the credibility of its bearers. The first forms a great part of that argument for the truth of the Christian religion which comes under the head of its *internal evidences.* The substance of the message is neither more nor less than that particular scheme of the divine economy which is revealed to us in the New Testament, and the point of inquiry is, whether the scheme be consistent with that knowledge of God and His attributes which we are previously in possession of. It appears to us that no effectual argument can be founded upon this consideration." —*Encycl.*, vol. vi. p. 356.

In the "Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation," the last sentence of this passage was changed into—"It appears to many that no effectual argument," &c.—See p. 15, fifth edition, 1817. In the "Evidences of Christianity" it stands—"It is doubtful to many whether any effectual argument," &c.—See *Works*, vol. iii. p. 150.

"But, for our part, we could see her [Christianity] driven from all her defences, and surrender them without a sigh, so long as the phalanx of her historical evidence remains impregnable."—*Encycl.*, vol. vi. p. 381.

This remains unchanged in the separate volume, but in the "Evidences of Christianity," it stands—"For our own part, we could see her driven from all her defences, and surrender them without a sigh, so long as the phalanx of the historical *and experimental* evidence remains impregnable."—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 356.

"We hold by the total insufficiency of natural religion to pronounce upon the intrinsic merits of any revelation, and think that the authority of every revelation rests exclusively upon its external evidences, and upon such marks of honesty in the composition of itself as would apply to any human performance."—*Encycl.*, vol. vi. p. 389; and *The Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation*, p. 243.

"We hold by the insufficiency of nature to pronounce upon the intrinsic merits of any revelation, and think that the authority of every revelation rests *mainly* upon its historical *and experimental* evidences, and upon such marks of honesty in

surrender of itself to the Divine authority of the written record, preserving its candour, refusing to be tempted into controversy, keeping itself open throughout to conviction,—and reaching, as the blessed reward of persevering inquiry and believing prayer, to the most spiritual, enlarged, and profound convictions on this, as on every subject "connected with the essential elements of faith and practice."

The preliminary question raised by Mr. Hume as to the power of human testimony to accredit a miraculous event

the composition itself as would apply to any human performance."—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 335.

"The writer of the present article feels that in thus disclaiming all support from what is commonly understood by the internal evidence, he does not follow the general example of those who have written on the Deistical controversy."—*Encycl.*, vol. vi. p. 384, and *The Evidence and Authority*, &c., p. 209.

"We feel that in thus disclaiming support from *much of* what is commonly understood by the internal evidence," &c.—*Works*, vol. iii. p. 312.

"But reason is not entitled to sit in judgment over those internal evidences which many a presumptuous theologian has attempted to derive from the reason of the thing, or from the agreement of the doctrine with the fancied character and attributes of the Deity."—*Encycl.*, vol. vi. p. 393; and *The Evidence and Authority*, &c., p 276. In the "Evidences of Christianity" this sentence is altogether omitted

"Of all the evidence that can be adduced for the truth of Christianity, it [the moral and experimental] is that for which I have the greatest value, both from its being the only evidence which tells on the consciences and understandings of the great mass of the people, and also, I think, that evidence which is the main instrument of conversion, or for working in the minds of your hearers that faith which is unto salvation."—*Institutes of Theology*, vol. i. p. 251.

"I may remark, however, that there was one thing which surprised me greatly, viz., that notwithstanding his acute and penetrating mind, he did not for a while perceive that prophecy was any part of the evidence of Christianity. On this we had many conversations; and with all the humility of a child, although I was immeasurably inferior to him, he was pleased to ask what were the books he should read on the subject, and I recommended to him the best which I knew. Some years after, I was much struck in reading the review of the article in the 'Christian Observer,' to find the reviewer stating that the part of it relating to prophecy was the weakest. I may add, that after the article was written, and prior to its being published, I was favoured to hear a portion read by himself, and was requested by him to mark with attention if there was any repetition of sentiment in it, as a repetition of sentiment was a fault in his former publication."—*MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Dr. Smith.*

was not discussed in the article "Christianity." In one of his earliest letters to Dr. Brewster, Mr. Chalmers had said, "There is one part of the argument which I think it would be much better to postpone—the metaphysical difficulty which Hume started on the evidence of testimony. If this is not engaged, I am willing to undertake that argument under the article 'Testimony.' I think I could convince you that it is rather out of place in my present attempt, though it must be taken up somewhere before the argument for 'Christianity' is completed. I conceive that the system of Christian doctrine falls better under the article 'Theology,' which I hear is in very able hands.* I limit myself entirely to the truth of our religion, a question which, in point of curiosity and importance, should occupy a distinguished place in the circle of human knowledge." Dissatisfied with Dr. Campbell's reply to the "Essay on Miracles," Mr. Chalmers was already ruminating upon some method by which the infidel objection might be more directly met and more effectively overturned. His refutation of Hume was as yet only in embryo; but he was pleased when he remembered, that—the rate at which the past volumes of the "Encyclopædia" had been issued being maintained—sufficient time would be given to mature his thoughts ere the article on "Testimony" would be required. Meanwhile, however, the appearance of a remarkable paper in the forty-sixth number of the "Edinburgh Review," understood to be from the able and influential pen of Professor Playfair, quickened his inquiries into increased earnestness. In a review of La Place's "Essai Philosophique sur les Probabilités," Mr. Playfair had made the following bold and startling assertions:—"The first author we believe who stated fairly the connexion between the evidence of testimony and the evidence of experience was Hume in his 'Essay on Miracles,' a work full of

* This subject was committed to Dr. Andrew Thomson.

deep thought and enlarged views, and, if we do not stretch the principles so far as to interfere with the truths of religion, abounding in maxims of great use in the conduct of life as well as in the speculations of philosophy. * * * We may consider physical phenomena as divided into two classes; the one comprehending all those of which the course is known from experience to be perfectly uniform; and the other comprehending those of which the course, though no doubt regulated by general laws, is not perfectly conformable to any law with which we are acquainted, so that the most general rule that we are enabled to give admits of many exceptions. The violation of the order of events among the phenomena of the former class, the suspension of gravity, for example, the deviation of any of the stars from their places or their courses in the heavens, &c.,—these are facts of which the improbability is so strong that no testimony can prevail against it. It will always be more wonderful that the violation of such order should have taken place, than that any number of witnesses should be deceived themselves, or should be disposed to deceive others. * * * Against the uniformity, therefore, of such laws, it is impossible for testimony to prevail."* Upon reading this article, Mr. Chalmers made the following entry in his Journal:—" *October* 19*th*, (1814.)—Struck with the Edinburgh Reviewers' revival of Hume's argument about testimony, and pray that God would guide my speculations upon the subject." His lively correspondent, Dr. Jones, thus informed him

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxiii. pp. 329, 330. I cannot insert such numerous references to the painful impressions made by that religious scepticism, which tinged so many of the papers in the earlier numbers of the "Edinburgh Review," without recording at the same time the unmixed delight with which Dr. Chalmers read the brilliant literary papers furnished to that periodical by its distinguished editor, and the peculiarly strong and tender feeling of personal attachment which he cherished towards him—a feeling which in later years, and in his domestic circle, broke out into some expression of affectionate admiration whenever Lord Jeffrey's name was mentioned.

of the reception which Mr. Playfair's paper had met with in Edinburgh, and of the expectations which were cherished as to his own future treatment of the question:—"I cannot say that Playfair's squib attracted any more notice than any other squib thrown in the dark: it fizzed, and hardly made darkness visible; but from want of skill in the maker, it had no crack at the end. However, though I think it was hardly worth their while, our friends Dickson, jun., and Andrew Thomson, took it to the pulpit and gave it a toss, which is just what a squib-thrower wishes and intends. I rejoice to hear that you have turned your thoughts to the subject of Testimony, and I should be glad if you could prosecute it immediately. The genial heat that the present moment has given to the subject will be peculiarly propitious to such an undertaking. At any rate, charge your piece; it is well to be ready, as to be fore-armed is oftentimes two-thirds or more of the victory. I suppose before this you have heard from Andrew Thomson what he told me, that he is to have one paper and George Cook another on Playfair's squib in the next 'Christian Instructor.'* It gave me much pleasure to find that you were not satisfied with Campbell. Though I think that he has answered David Hume, there is a want of perspicuity and point and nerve and order, that is unpleasant; and especially on such a subject not only light, but summer's noonday should shine, which disowns not merely the smaller particles of dust, but the motion and undulations of light and air. The whole of Hume's argument hangs on the metaphysical cobweb that testimony derives its evidence and authority from experience,

* See *Christian Instructor* for December 1814. Dr. Jones was misinformed as to the author of the second paper in the *Christian Instructor*, which was written by the late Dr. Sommerville of Drumelzier, and afterwards republished in a pamphlet, entitled "Remarks on an Article in the 'Edinburgh Review,' in which the doctrine of Hume on Miracles is maintained." For Dr. Chalmers' high testimony to the merits of this pamphlet, see *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 116-17.

which I think Campbell has swept away, although he has not done it with neatness and cleanness. It is as if it had been scrubbed off with a birch or broom besom, instead of a new and clean brush, or a well-washed duster. I think, therefore, that much might be done in this way, and more still in throwing additional light on those magnificent masses of testimony on which the building rests; and as for this I know no one so well qualified, I wish you would do it." The excitement of the occasion and the wish of many friends would have prevailed, but another and more urgent demand intervened, and it was not till many years afterwards that Mr. Chalmers had leisure enough to do justice to a subject upon which he had speculated so long and so anxiously. And when at last, in his preparations for the Theological Chair in Edinburgh, he entered upon the investigation, the result—precious in proportion to the time taken in maturing it—was a new and triumphant answer to Hume, an original and most valuable contribution to the Evidences of Christianity.*

About the time at which the article "Christianity" was presented in a separate form to the public, Mr. Chalmers issued his pamphlet entitled "The Influence of Bible Societies upon the Temporal Necessities of the Poor." When he went to reside in Hawick, a legal assessment for the relief of the poor had for many years existed in that parish. The mode and results of its operation were to him a matter of new and most interesting investigation. After his own settlement at Kilmany, where there were no poor-rates, he instituted a comparison between the two parishes. As Hawick embraced a considerable manufacturing population, it was natural to expect that its pauperism should be relatively greater than that of a purely agricultural parish; but the rapid rate at which the amount of the assessment had increased,—so much beyond the

* See *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 70-129.

rate of increase of the population,*—was incapable of being accounted for by the occupations in which the people were engaged. Taking again the same number of paupers in each parish, the expenditure in Hawick greatly exceeded that in Kilmany; and yet, when the houses, the food, the clothing, the comforts of each were inspected, the condition of the latter, instead of being much worse, was found to be much better than that of the former. Further inquiry satisfied Mr. Chalmers, that where there were no poor-rates, where the parish bounty was spontaneous, consisting of the offerings at the church-doors, and distributed by members of the kirk-session, who knew the position and habits of those to whose wants they ministered, the sum contributed by public charity constituted but a small portion of those supplies by which the existing poverty was relieved—the remaining and larger portion coming from relatives and neighbours. A public fund, raised not by voluntary subscription, but by legal enforcement, and which ostensibly charged itself with the full and adequate relief of all the poverty of a neighbourhood, had the direct effect of cutting off that second and more copious current of supply. It was in this way that the Hawick pauper on the whole lost more by the operation of an assessment than he gained by the increase of his allowance. At Kilmany the receiving of parochial aid was felt to be almost a reproach, and it was frequently refused. But Mr. Chalmers noticed, and was much struck with the fact, that when those who, if they had remained in his parish never would have suffered their names to appear in the poor-roll, removed to Dundee, and there became claimants upon the legally-enforced liberality of the public, on their return to Kilmany, ex-

* In 1727, anterior to the imposition of the assessment, the total expenditure upon the poor in Hawick had been £22, 13s. 10d. In 1839, the assessment had risen to £1009, 9s. 9d.—a sum forty times greater, bestowed upon a population which had not exhibited so much as a threefold increase.—See *Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburgh*, p. 416.

hibited a tone of feeling and line of practice altogether changed.* It was common enough for those who received aid from a kirk-session administering the free alms of the people, when their circumstances improved, voluntarily to relinquish what had thus been allowed; but such conduct was never exemplified by those who had become paupers at Dundee. Pursuing his inquiries into the condition of the poor, and into their moral feelings and habits as affected by the way in which their wants were relieved, Mr. Chalmers was prepared, so early as the year 1808, publicly to affirm—"It is in the power of charity to corrupt its object; it may tempt him to indolence—it may lead him to renounce all dependence upon himself—it may nourish the meanness and depravity of his character—it may lead him to hate exertion, and resign without a sigh the dignity of independence. It could easily be proved, that if charity were carried to its utmost extent, it would unhinge the constitution of society. It would expel from the land the blessings of industry. Every man would repose on the beneficence of another; every incitement to diligence would be destroyed. The evils of poverty would multiply to such an extent as to be beyond the power of the most unbounded charity to redress them; and instead of an elysium of love and of plenty, the country would present the nauseating spectacle of sloth and beggary and corruption."†

Mr. Morton's removal to England suggested a still more striking and instructive comparison than that which had been instituted between Hawick and Kilmany. Inoculated with Mr. Chalmers' notions as to poor-rates, he settled in a purely agricultural district in Somersetshire; and looking with a

* In the forty years preceding 1834, the population of Dundee had nearly doubled, the assessment had increased from £400 to £2000 per annum; and if, as in the case of Hawick, we knew what it had been before there was any assessment, the rate of increase would appear to be much higher.—See *Statistical Account—Forfarshire*, p. 49.

† See *Posthumous Works*, vol. vi. p. 60.

fresh northern eye upon the new state of things in the midst of which he found himself, he had written to his brother-in-law, expressing his astonishment at the magnitude of the English assessments, and his conviction of their prejudicial operation. "You are quite correct in principle as to the poor-rates," Mr. Chalmers wrote to him in reply. "My own parish, consisting of 750 people, is supported at the rate of twenty-four pounds a year. A farther extension of this small fund to thirty pounds a year, by the introduction of the ladle, will be brought about next year; and even this I think scarcely desirable—not that I could not get poverty enough in the parish to absorb it, but that, let you extend this fund as much as you please, the poverty will extend along with it, so as to press as hard upon the supplies as ever. And if ever they come to be augmented to such a degree as to be counted upon by the lower orders, there is an end to that industry and virtuous independence which have so long formed the honourable distinction of our Scottish peasantry. I spent some months in a parish in Roxburghshire, before I came to Kilmany. The poor-rates had been introduced there from England; and I saw as much poverty and more depravity of character than I hope I shall ever witness in these northern climes. The same population were supported at about six times a greater rate than they are in this neighbourhood. Mr. Malthus' theory upon this subject would have carried me even without examples. But it seldom happens that a speculation so apparently paradoxical is so well supported by the most triumphant exemplifications."* In return for his statistics as to Kilmany, Mr. Morton informed him of the parish of Kingbrompton, in Somersetshire, that its population was just four above that of Kilmany; that, like Kilmany, it contained a purely rural population; but that its poor-rates, instead of ranging between £20 and £30, had then

* Letter dated 7th February 1811.

amounted to £1260 per annum. There could not have been a fairer comparison, or a more instructive contrast: nor was it very long till public and effective use was made of it. During the controversy excited by the formation of the Bible Society, it was objected to those parochial associations which Mr. Chalmers sought so zealously to multiply all over the country, that, by absorbing so much of the liberality of the public, they would curtail the funds out of which poverty was to be relieved. It was an objection which touched the very topics on which for years he had been speculating, all his former opinions on which had been mightily reinforced by the new estimate he had been led to form of the value and virtue of the religious principle. Leaving to others the public vindication of Bible Associations on their direct merits, he came forward with a pamphlet especially directed to this single topic. Not satisfied with effectively repelling the objections taken to them, by showing that Bible Societies, instead of abridging, did much to stimulate public generosity towards the poor, Mr. Chalmers proceeded to demonstrate that those decried institutions were among the most effective of all instruments for checking poverty and diminishing its amount; whereas many of the institutions for the relief of poverty, which those who cared little for the religious instruction of the people set up in false rivalry, or in misplaced opposition to them, had a tendency to aggravate the very evil which they were instituted to remove. "For what, after all," asks the author of the pamphlet, "is the best method of providing for the secular necessities of the poor? Is it by labouring to meet the necessity after it has occurred, or by labouring to establish a principle and a habit which would go far to prevent its existence? If you wish to get rid of a noxious stream, you may first try to intercept it by throwing across a barrier, but in this way you only spread the pestilential water over a greater extent of ground; and when the basin is filled, a stream as copious

as before is formed out of its overflow. The most effectual method, were it possible to carry it into accomplishment, would be to dry up the source. The parallel in a great measure holds. If you wish to extinguish poverty, combat with it in its first elements. If you confine your beneficence to the relief of actual poverty, you do nothing. Dry up, if possible, the spring of poverty, for any attempt to intercept the running stream has totally failed. The education and religious principle of Scotland have not annihilated pauperism, but they have restrained it to a degree that is almost incredible to our neighbours of the south. They keep down the mischief in its principle; they impart a sobriety and a right sentiment of independence to the character of our peasantry; they operate as a check upon poverty and idleness. The maintenance of parish-schools is a burden upon the landed property of Scotland; but it is a cheap defence against the poor-rates, a burden far heavier, and which is aggravating perpetually. The writer of this paper knows of a parish in Fife, the average maintenance of whose poor is defrayed by twenty-four pounds sterling a year, and of a parish of the same population in Somersetshire, where the annual assessment amounts to thirteen hundred pounds sterling. * * * The hungry expectations of the poor will ever keep pace with the assessments of the wealthy, and their eye will be averted from the exertion of their own industry as the only right source of comfort and independence. It is quite vain to think that positive relief will ever do away the wretchedness of poverty. Carry the relief beyond a certain limit, and you foster the diseased principle which gives birth to poverty. * * * The remedy against the extension of pauperism does not lie in the liberalities of the rich; it lies in the hearts and habits of the poor. Plant in their bosoms a principle of independence—give a high tone of delicacy to their characters—teach them to recoil from pauperism as a degradation. * * *

Could we reform the improvident habits of the people, and pour the healthful infusion of Scripture principles into their hearts, it would reduce the existing poverty of the land to a very humble fraction of its present extent. We make bold to say, that, in ordinary times, there is not one-tenth of the pauperism of England due to unavoidable misfortune. * * * In those districts of Scotland where poor-rates are unknown, the descending avenue which leads to pauperism is powerfully guarded by the stigma which attaches to it. Remove this stigma, and our cottagers, now rich in the possession of contentment and industry, would resign their habits, and crowd into the avenue by thousands. The shame of descending is the powerful stimulus which urges them to a manly contest with the difficulties of their situation, and which bears them through in all the pride of honest independence. Talk of this to the people of the south, and it sounds in their ears like an arcadian story. But there is not a clergyman among us who has not witnessed the operation of the principle in all its fineness and in all its moral delicacy; and surely a testimony is due to those village heroes who so nobly struggle with the difficulties of pauperism, that they may shun and surmount its degradation."*

The pamphlet on "The Influence of Bible Societies upon the Temporal Necessities of the Poor," was still in the hands of the printer, when Mr. Chalmers was requested by Mr. Andrew Thomson to prepare a notice of Cuvier's recently translated work. Werner was but beginning to be known, Hutton's speculations had only recently appeared in the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," and Playfair was as yet gathering the materials for his "Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory," when the attention of Mr. Chalmers was first turned to the subject of Geology. This infant science was imagined by theologians generally (even in the confused and conflicting babblings of its

* See *Works*, vol. xii pp. 125, 156.

childhood) to speak in a tone decidedly infidel, and with a haste and an injustice equal to that which they charged upon their fancied adversary, they would have stifled a voice which appeared to conflict with that of the divine oracles. The merit, I believe, belongs to Mr. Chalmers of having been the first clergyman in this country who, yielding to the evidence in favour of a much higher antiquity being assigned to the earth than had previously been conceived, suggested the manner in which such a scientific faith could be harmonized with the Mosaic narrative, and who, even in the dreaded investigations of the geologist, discerned and indicated fresh "footprints of the Creator."* So early as 1804 he had arrived at the conviction that "the writings of Moses do not fix the antiquity of the globe. If they fix anything at all, it is only the antiquity of the species."† In the article on Christianity this general assertion appears in a more distinct and intelligible form, when it is asked, "Does Moses ever say that there was not an interval of many ages betwixt the first act of creation, described in the first verse of the book of Genesis, and said to have been performed at the beginning, and those more detailed operations the account of which commences at the second verse? * * * or does he ever make us to understand that the genealogies of man went any farther than to fix the antiquity of the species, and, of consequence, that they left the antiquity of the globe a free subject for the speculations of philosophers?"‡ About the time at which this article first appeared, Professor Jameson published his translation of Cuvier's "Essay on the Theory of the Earth." In a review of this Essay inserted in the "Christian Instructor" for April 1814, Mr. Chalmers remarks,—"Should the phenomena compel us to assign a greater antiquity to the globe than to that work of days detailed in the book of

* To this topic I shall have occasion to make more particular reference hereafter.
† See *ante*, p. 81. ‡ *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, vol. vi. p. 383.

Genesis, there is still one way of saving the credit of the literal history. The first creation of the earth and the heavens may have formed no part of that work. This took place at the *beginning*, and is described in the first verse of Genesis. It is not said when the *beginning* was. We know the general impression to be that it was on the earlier part of the first day, and that the first act of creation formed part of the same day's work with the formation of light. We ask our readers to turn to that chapter, and to read the first five verses of it. Is there any forcing in the supposition that the first verse describes the primary act of creation, and leaves us at liberty to place it as far back as we may; that the first half of the second verse describes the state of the earth (which may already have existed for ages, and been the theatre of geological revolutions) at the point of time anterior to the detailed operations of this chapter, and that the motion of the Spirit of God, described in the second clause of the second verse, was the commencement of these operations? In this case, the creation of light may have been the great and leading event of the first day, and Moses may be supposed to give us, not a history of the first formation of things, but of the formation of the present system."*

Cuvier's skill as a comparative anatomist enabled him to construct the entire skeleton of an animal out of a small fragment of one of its bones. Applying his method to the fossil remains which are found in the crust of the earth, he was led into investigations, out of which, says Mr. Chalmers, "There is one very precious fruit to be gathered—an argument for the exercise of a creative power, more convincing, perhaps, than any that can be drawn from the slender resources of natural theism. If it be true that in the oldest of the strata no animal remains are to be met with, marking out an epoch anterior to the exist-

* *Christian Instructor*, vol. ix. p. 273; *Dr. Chalmers' Works*, vol. i. p. 250; xii. p. 369; *Posthumous Works*, vol. vii. pp. 85, 246.

ence of living beings in the field of observation—if it be true that all the genera which are found in the first of the peopled strata are destroyed—if it be true that no traces of our present genera are to be met with in the early epochs of the globe, how came the present races of animated nature into being? It is not enough to say, that like man, they may have been confined to narrower regions, and escaped the operation of the former catastrophes, or that their remains may be buried under the present ocean. Enough for our purpose that they could not have existed from all eternity. Enough for us the fact that each catastrophe has the chance of destroying, or does, in fact, destroy a certain number of genera. If this annihilating process went on from eternity, the work of annihilation would long ago have been accomplished, and there is not a single species of living creatures that could have survived the multiplicity of chances for its extinction afforded by an indefinite number of catastrophes. If, then, there were no replacement of new genera, the face of the world would at this moment have been one dreary and unpeopled solitude; and the question recurs, How did this replacement come to be effected? The doctrine of spontaneous generation we believe to be generally exploded, and there is not a known instance of an animal being brought into existence but by means of a previous animal of the same species. The transition of the genera into one another is most ably and conclusively contended against by the author before us, who proves them to be separated by permanent and invincible barriers. Between the one principle and the other the commencement of new genera is totally inexplicable on any of the known powers and combinations of matter, and we are carried upwards to the primary link which connects the existence of a created being with the fiat of the Creator."*

* *Christian Instructor*, vol. ix. p. 270; *Works*, vol. i. pp. 228-258; xii. p. 364; *Posthumous Works*, vol. vii. pp. 85-89. The stringency of the geological proof of

In compliance with a request made by its editor, Mr. Chalmers gave the autumn of 1814 to the preparation of a contribution to the "Eclectic Review."* The subject which he selected was suggested by an article which had then recently appeared in the "Edinburgh Review." In a notice of Lichtenstein's "Travels in Southern Africa,"† the reviewer had taken occasion to remark,—"Both the happiness and the morals of the inhabitants and the colonists of this district seem to have been injured not a little by the intrusion of a swarm of missionaries. * * * What is here said of the missionaries is agreeably contrasted with the society of the United Brethren or Herrenhuters, which was soon after visited by Lichtenstein and his friends. * * * Of all who have attempted to teach Christianity to barbarous or savage nations, the Moravian brethren may be fairly placed at the head. They begin with civilizing their pupils, educating and instructing them in the useful arts. It is by this kind of practical instruction alone that those in a certain state of ignorance and barbarism are to be gained over to the truth; and till a similar course is followed, our missionaries and our Bible Societies may expend thousands and tens of thousands to no purpose but to manifest the goodness of their intentions, and their total ignorance of the means which ought to be pursued."‡

creative intervention has originated such attempts as those made by the author of the "Vestiges of Creation,"—a masterly refutation of which volume will be found in Mr. Hugh Miller's "Footprints of the Creator;" one of the ablest works which the Scottish press has produced, exhibiting as it does the rare combination of most acute and profound metaphysical talent with powers of minute and careful observation, and varied scientific acquirement.

* See *Eclectic Review*, vol. iii. p. 1, in a review of "Journal of a Voyage from Okkak."

† See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxi. p. 64, in the Number for February 1818.

‡ The review of "Lichtenstein" refers us back to a previous notice of Barrow's "Account of a Journey in Africa," (see *Edinburgh Review*, vol. viii. pp. 484-486,) in which the reviewer makes the following observations in his own name :—"It does not appear from the account of the missionaries themselves that their laudable zeal and pious labours are likely soon to gain an exceeding great reward. They are preaching the most abstruse mysteries of our holy religion to tribes of

Mr. Chalmers undertook to manifest the reviewer's total ignorance of the means which had been actually pursued by the Moravians, whose labours were so applauded, and out of those very labours to construct the most convincing of all arguments against the theory which at that period was such a favourite with the opponents of missionary efforts, namely, that you must civilize before you can christianize a barbarous community. "The truth is," he remarks, "that the Moravians have of late become the objects of a sentimental admiration. Their numerous establishments, and the many interesting pictures of peace, and order, and industry which they have reared among the wilds of heathenism, have at length compelled the testimony of travellers. It is delightful to be told of the neat attire and cultivated gardens of savages; and we can easily conceive how a sprig of honeysuckle at the cottage door of a Hottentot may extort some admiring and poetical prettiness from a charmed spectator who would shrink offended from the peculiarities of the gospel. Now they are right as to the fact. It is all very true about the garden and the honeysuckle; but they are most egregiously wrong as to the principle. And when they talk of these Moravians as the most rational of missionaries, because they furnish these converts with the arts and comforts of life before they ever think of pressing upon them the mys-

savages who can scarcely count ten, and inculcating the care of their immortal souls to miserable creatures, who with all their labour can scarcely find subsistence for their bodies. The order of Providence clearly recommends that these children of penury should first get into easier circumstances, and then be made converts to religious tenets." He afterwards quotes approvingly the following sentence from Barrow :—"And here the superior advantages resulting from the system of the Moravians over that of the gospel missionaries are most forcibly demonstrated. Instead of encouraging the natives in their rambling disposition from place to place, they laboured to fix them to one spot—instead of preaching to them the mysterious parts of the gospel, they instructed them in useful and industrious habits—instead of building a church, they erected a storehouse." How deep the impression was which these articles made upon Mr. Chalmers is evidenced by his reference to them many years afterwards in his theological prelections.—See *Posthumous Works*, vol. ix. pp. 156, 157.

teries of their faith, they make a most glaring departure from the truth, and that too in the face of information and testimony afforded by the very men whom they profess to admire. It is not true that Moravians are distinguished from the other missionaries by training their disciples to justice, and morality, and labour, in the first instance, and by refraining to exhort to faith and self-abasement. It is not true, nor does it consist with the practice of the Moravians, that in regard to savages some advance towards civilisation is necessary, preparatory to any attempt to christianize them."

The most impressive incident in the history of Moravian missions had been the trial at their outset of the very method recommended by Lichtenstein and his reviewers, its signal failure, and subsequent abandonment. For many years the Moravian missionaries in Greenland had laboured to train the natives to habits of industry, and to instruct them in the first and simplest truths of religion, studiously withholding from them the deeper mysteries of the Christian faith; but no sensible effect followed. One day, however, whilst one of their number was engaged in making a fair copy of a translation of one of the gospels, a crowd of natives gathered round him, curious to know the contents of the book. He read to them the history of our Saviour's sufferings and death. "How was that?" said one of the savages, stepping up to the table at which the missionary was sitting, his voice trembling with emotion as he spoke—"How was that? Tell me that once more, for I too would fain be saved!" "These words," writes the missionary, "the like of which I had never heard from any Greenlander, pierced my very soul, and affected me so much that, with tears in my eyes, I related to them the whole history of the sufferings of Christ, and the counsel of God for our salvation."*

* See *Historical Records relative to the Moravian Church, by Klinesmith*, pp. 128, 129.

The Greenlander who put the question was the first convert to the truth; and the mode of his conversion was so instructive, that ever afterwards the first office of the Moravian missionaries was to proclaim the death of Jesus as the great expiation for human guilt, and only ground of the sinner's hope for eternity. One difference, indeed, existed between them and others,—they had been longer in the field. "They have had time," says Mr. Chalmers, "for the production of more gratifying results; and the finished spectacle of their orderly and peaceful establishments strikes at once upon the eye of many an admirer who knows not how to relish or appreciate the principle which gives life and perpetuity to the whole exhibition. This may serve to account for the mistaken principle upon which many admirers of the United Brethren gave them the preference over all other missionaries." The Moravians not only led the way in modern missionary effort, but they have given such an exhibition of zeal and devotedness in this work as no other community of Christians has displayed. In 1731, when they first entered on this field of labour, all the Churches of the Reformation were asleep. They formed a small community of poor suffering exiles, numbering about 600 souls; yet such was the sacred impulse to missionary labour which animated them, that "within the short period of ten years, missionaries went to St. Thomas, to St. Croix, to Greenland, to Surinam, to the Rio de Berbice, to several Indian tribes in North America, to the negroes in South Carolina, to Lapland, to Tartary, to Algiers, to Guinea, to the Cape of Good Hope, and to Ceylon."* At present the Moravian Brethren in Europe and America amount to about 10,000, 230 of whom are missionaries, having under their care upwards of 50,000 converts from heathenism. Having given up one-fiftieth of their own number to the work of evangelizing the

* See *Holmes' Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, p. 3.

nations, they have gathered in more than five times their own number from the vast field of heathenism. We are pleased when, as the result of a statistical survey of our principal missionary societies, Dr. Harris presents us with the information, that there are at present about 1500 missionaries, aided by about 5000 native and other teachers, occupying 1200 stations, employing 50 printing-presses, and having about 180,000 converts in Christian communion: but it abates the satisfaction when we are reminded, that if the Churches in our own land had done as much as these Moravians have done, instead of there being as now but one missionary to every 400,000, there would be one to every 1800 of the heathen—the whole heathen world would be within our reach, under effective Christian instruction, whilst instead of 180,000, we might have had eighty-five millions of converts to Christianity!*

* See *The Great Commission, by Dr. Harris*, p. 185; and *Christian Missions to Heathen Nations, by Baptist W. Noel*, pp. 311, 312.

CHAPTER XV.

APPEARANCES IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS—PRESBYTERY OF CUPAR—ALTERATIONS AND REPAIRS UPON MANSES—SYNOD OF FIFE—CASE OF MR. FERRIE—SPEECH BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

MR. CHALMERS had hitherto taken no particular or prominent part in the business of the ecclesiastical courts. The records of the Presbytery of Cupar, of which he was a member for more than twelve years, exhibit but a solitary instance in which his name stands connected with any Presbyterial Act. At a meeting of that Presbytery, held on the 1st February 1814, he moved the adoption and enforcement of certain regulations which he had prepared relative to the repairs and alterations of manses. In his own case he had experienced the "sweetening and tranquillizing effect" of the Presbytery's intervention, and he desired to secure, in all time coming, the same benefit to all his brethren. "I am sure," he said, in moving his resolutions, "that the comfort of the heritors is as much involved in these regulations as the comfort of the clergyman; for I will venture to say, that a mode of proceeding which carries them to a prompt and immediate decision, though it should bring double the expense along with it, will be attended with a less quantity of unpleasurable feelings. I do not think we have to look far into human nature for the explanation of this; but instead of theorizing, I shall give you an

actual example of it. I believe that I am within limits when I say that I had at least sixteen meetings with my heritors on the subject of manse and offices. I am convinced that during that time they did not lay their account with an expenditure of more than £500, even if I got all that I asked. But to reduce this £500 was the mighty object, and in pursuit of it there was a world of harassment and occasional bad humour in both parties. Well, the matters went on and thickened to a crisis, and at the end of a most fatiguing two years, I did what I ought to have done at the commencement of them; I called in my Presbytery; and—mark the importance of the fact to my arguments—when at last the decision came upon them in the shape of a payment, not of £500, but of £1150, it brought not merely comfort to my heart, but it brought tranquillity to theirs." Instead of leaving it optional to the minister to apply to the Presbytery, the improvement suggested by Mr. Chalmers in his regulations was, that each minister should be bound to inform the Presbytery of every proposed repair or alteration, leaving it optional to the Presbytery to interfere. Having heard his regulations read, "the Presbytery highly approved of the spirit and object of these regulations, and ordered them to lie on the table till next ordinary meeting." In bringing them again before the notice of the Presbytery at their next meeting, Mr. Chalmers said,—"I have not forgotten your unanimous approbation of the *spirit* of these regulations. Now, spirit is a thin, vapoury, aerial kind of thing, ready to fly at every slight impulse, and therefore requiring to be fixed down and made to reside in a material substance. You have conceded to me a spirit, give me a body to place it in; for, be assured, we shall reap no solid advantage till we have embodied the said spirit in an actually adopted resolution. I remember reading of a motion of Mr. Fox's in Parliament, by which he carried it as the resolution of the House, 'That the influence of the Crown

had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished.'* But he could not get them to do anything upon this motion. They would come to no specific or operative measure in consequence; and I was a good deal struck at the time with the charge which he exhibited against them,—that they had given their assent to a declaratory proposition, and withheld it from an effective one. Now, I feel that I am speaking on a clearer and a better cause, and I trust, having got your declaratory proposition at the last meeting of Presbytery, that I shall obtain your effective one at this." The regulations which, with some slight modifications, were adopted, will be found at the foot of the page.†

But within the bounds of his own Synod a question had now arisen in which his interest was too great to suffer him to remain inactive. The junction of a professorship in a university with the charge of a country parish had been rarely known, and had frequently been disallowed in the practice of the Church of Scotland; and although the General Assembly of

* This resolution was moved not by Mr. Fox, but by Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton.

† "*29th March*, 1814.—The Regulations relative to Manses, &c., proposed by Mr. Chalmers, were again read, and being maturely considered, were unanimously adopted, and ordered to be observed by all the members of the Presbytery in future; the tenor whereof follows, viz. :—

"1. That every minister within the bounds shall henceforth give information to the Presbytery of the repairs or alterations upon the manse or offices which he wishes to propose to his heritors.

"2. That the Presbytery shall judge whether, from the extent of the repairs wanted, or other circumstances of the case, it will be right or prudent for them to leave the matter to be negotiated by the minister, or to interfere in the business themselves.

"3. That if the affair be committed to the minister, he shall be held bound to inform the Presbytery of its progress and result.

"4. Provided always, that if the manse shall be in so doubtful a state as to render a report from tradesmen necessary before the specific repairs or alterations can be fixed upon, the Presbytery shall appoint a visitation and inspection of the said manse, with a view to obtain the said report from tradesmen upon oath."—*Extracted from the Records of the Presbytery of Cupar.*

1800 had decided in favour of the junction of the two offices in the instance of Dr. Arnot's settlement in Kingsbarns, the conviction gained ground that it was a union which violated the constitution of the Scottish Establishment, which had always required constant residence in their parishes on the part of all its ministers. That conviction was very unequivocally expressed when, in the year 1813, the Rev. William Ferrie, Professor of Civil History in the University of St. Andrews, was presented to the living of Kilconquhar. At first the Presbytery of St. Andrews refused to admit him to the pastoral charge, unless he gave them the assurance, which he refused to do, that before or at the time of his ordination, he would resign his professorship. Upon appeal to the General Assembly, held at Edinburgh in May 1813, by the narrow and at that time unusually small majority of *five* the decision of the Presbytery of St. Andrews was reversed, and they were appointed to proceed with Mr. Ferrie's settlement as minister of Kilconquhar, "with all convenient speed, according to the rules of the Church." In compliance with this decision of the supreme Court, a committee of Presbytery met at Kilconquhar for the purpose of moderating in a *call*, and reported to a subsequent meeting that no signatures whatever had been attached to it. At the same time, however, a letter was laid before the Presbytery, in which all the principal landholders of Kilconquhar, three out of four of the elders, and many heads of families, apologized for not having signed the call at the proper time, and expressed their concurrence in Mr. Ferrie's settlement. At this stage the matter was referred to the Synod, for the meeting of which, on the 12th October, Mr. Chalmers, as his Journal has already informed the reader, made the most anxious and careful preparation.* It had been his impression that the

* Extracts from the speech prepared for this occasion will be found in Appendix L.

want of a call would oppose an effectual barrier against Mr. Ferrie's ordination, or that an opportunity would at least present itself for discussing the general question of the propriety of such pluralities. But he was disappointed. Mr. Ferrie's friends yielded the question as to the sustaining of the letter as equivalent to a call, and the Synod, appointing the Presbytery to moderate in a new call, left the decision of the General Assembly to be carried into effect. It was to Mr. Chalmers a "day of mortification," from which he returned home "jaded, mortified, useless." But although they were obliged to yield to the decision of their supreme judicatory upon this particular case, the opponents of such pluralities had become too numerous and too zealous throughout the Church to abandon the question in despair. The main ground on which the judgment of the General Assembly had been rested and defended was, that before any Presbytery could be warranted to act as the Presbytery of St. Andrews had done, a specific law of the Church forbidding the union of offices was required. The majority of those who thought and acted with Mr. Chalmers denied the necessity of a specific law; nevertheless, that the abuse might be prevented in all time coming, they united in bringing the matter in its general form before the Assembly of 1814. The "day of mortification" in the Synod was now more than compensated by a day of triumph in the Assembly. Mr. Chalmers took a conspicuous part in the debate, which he relieved of its dulness by such passages as the following:—"The worthies of a former age never thought of framing a law against a country minister being at the same time a professor in a university. They never suspected their competency to repress this combination wherever it was attempted; nor did they anticipate the new-sprung principle, that every abuse must be tolerated in the first instance, and tolerated in every instance, till a positive and express statute was devised against

it. Why, Moderator, at this rate, the very act by which you interdict me from being a professor in a university carries a principle along with it by which you give me license to disgrace my profession, and to abandon my people in a thousand other ways. I run my eye over the catalogue of Church-laws, and I see that, if they are the only instruments by which the controlling power of the Church can be brought to bear upon me, there is indeed an ample range over which I am left at liberty to expatiate. It is true that, by the proposed law, you shut me out from being a professor; but by the principle of this said law you open up for me a thousand other employments. There is almost nothing which I may not do;—why, I may catch rats if I choose. It is not known to me that a law has yet been passed providing against the abuse of a country minister adding to the emoluments of his office the gains which may come to him from the calling of a rat-catcher. Well, then, this is the employment which I choose to betake myself to, and in the prosecution of it I may carry it with proud defiance against all my ecclesiastical superiors. It is quite in vain to talk of my time and my duties, and, above all, of the overwhelming ridicule which I have brought upon a dignified profession: I entrench myself behind the principle that there is no law; and when carried to the bar of the General Assembly, I ask my accusers where is their law, for they can do nothing without a law. You may frame a law against rat-catching in all time coming; but it is not fair that laws should have a retrospective effect, and so I will be a rat-catcher in spite of you. It is nothing to the purpose, it would appear, that a parish goes to wreck—that the clergyman has given his respectability to the winds—and that the serious are scandalized, and the profane rejoice in the air of levity which he has thrown around all his ministrations. In deference to the new-formed principle, that we can do nothing without a law, there is no other

alternative than to let him alone. We resign all discretionary power, it would appear, from this moment; and it were well if the one abuse that I have now specified were the only mischief it gave rise to. But the mischiefs will be infinite as the variety of human inventions. Every minister amongst us may find out something beyond the reach of all your written provisions, and the Church, thrown loose from the control of a principle which, till lately, was never questioned, from the authority of its courts sitting in judgment, as they have ever done, upon what was becoming the profession of a clergyman, and for the edification of his people, will exhibit the deformed spectacle of many sickening abuses, and many unheard-of enormities. The maxim of our not being able to do anything without law or without precedent, degrades us even below a civil court. A case comes before them, to which neither law nor precedent is applicable; but, in the mean time, a decision must be had, and as they have no old precedent to follow, they create a new one. A professor comes before us, for the first time, with a presentation to a country living, or conversely: we happen to have no law upon the subject, and can have no precedent. Upon what principle, then, is it that we are restrained from deciding as we will? Is it not competent to us, upon the single consideration, that it is against the interests of religion to permit such a combination of offices, to refuse our consent to his induction? Yes, it is; and the only plea upon which you can deny that competency is, that the man has acquired a right of property in a presentation which has been given to him. This brings the two opposing pretensions into contact, and carries us to the naked struggle between the rights of a patron and the functions of the Church. It is right that you should see the whole amount of the surrender you are making by giving way to the clamour about law and about precedent. Why, you are just giving way to a principle which, carried to its

full extent, makes the right of the patron absolute and independent; leaves the Church no more control over its members than over the holders of any secular benefice; reduces our office as constitutional guardians of religion to the impotent mockery of a form; and by a set of legal technicals, and fancied analogies, deceives us into a surrender of our dearest privileges. * * * The absolute right of patrons is altogether a visionary principle. * * * The man who comes to our bar with a presentation to a living has acquired no absolute right of property till he has obtained our consent to his induction. A presentation carries along with it no absolute right of property. It is only a right of property with submission to the judgment of the Church. * * * Every new law is a new limitation of the right of patronage; it is equivalent to a new tax upon the property conveyed by it. * * * *Our competency to make new laws is not denied in any one quarter.* This subordinates the right of the patron to that high function of the Church by which it sits in authority over every question involving in it the interests of religion. * * * 'Meditate on these things; give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear unto all.' This is a principle gathered out of the Statute-book of Christians, and it admits of a clear and easy application to the question before us. I know that there are other statute-books—books of cases and books of reference—at which many of our men of simplicity and godly sincerity stand aghast and are confounded. Now, what I want them to do, is to feel the sufficiency of the principles they have already learned—to keep by their own Statute-book, and manfully to withstand the darkening and misleading authority of others; and let them rest assured, that though men of curious arts among us were to bring their books together, and to count the price of them, and to find that in money they were worth fifty thousand pieces of silver, yet, in authority over us, they are

not worth a straw. Though they were at this moment burned before all men, I would lament their loss to other departments of jurisprudence; but enough for the proceedings of our General Assembly if the Word of God grew and prevailed among us. This was enough for the guidance of the Church in her best and purest days, and it should be enough for ours. * * * I have sometimes thought of the council of the apostles which met at Jerusalem, and tried to conceive how those primitive men would have listened to the kind of argument which is now so current among the law divines of the present day. I should have fastened an attentive eye upon Bartholomew and the rest of them, and been vastly curious to know how the man of point and precedent fared among the other members of the council, as he took up their celebrated decree, and examined how it was signed, sealed, and delivered. Why, Sir, I can conceive him to go so far in his argument about dates and duplicates and registrations as to tell the apostles, in so many words, that they knew nothing about the matter—that the time at which their decree was executed made that decree not worth a farthing; and as he went on in that style, which I need not describe, for it is too familiar to all of us, I figure to myself how Peter would have boiled with impatience, and the more masterly and intellectual Paul would have annihilated the trifler by one single blow of his decisive and manly indignation."*

* Other extracts from this speech, which, so far as I know, was never published, will be found in Appendix M. The effect produced by its delivery is thus pleasingly recorded in a letter from the Rev. Alexander Forrester, minister of Linton, to Mrs. Walker, a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of Kilconquhar, dated Linton, 4th June 1814:—"I cannot help expressing to you the pleasure which I received last Assembly at the wonderful display of talents which was made by your relation, the minister of Kilmany. My pleasure would have been considerable had his name and family been totally unknown to me, but entertaining no ordinary regard for some of his kindred both among the living and the dead, I confess that I had uncommon satisfaction at the appearance which he made. I do not know whether

After a lengthened debate a declaratory enactment was passed, prohibiting in future such pluralities as had been permitted in the cases of Dr. Arnot and Mr. Ferrie. A succeeding Assembly was persuaded to cancel this enactment on the alleged ground that it was incompetent and unconstitutional to pass such an act without the advice of the presbyteries of the Church. An overture embodying its terms was sent down to the presbyteries by the General Assembly of 1816; and a majority of the returns having been in its favour, it passed into a standing law of the Church of Scotland in 1817, that a chair in a university cannot be held in conjunction with a country parochial charge.

I am singular in my opinion that he bears in some striking features a resemblance to your father: I mean not in looks, but in the qualities of his mind. The resemblance which the members of a family bear to one another, and that even in its remoter branches, and in the particular which I now allude to, has often struck me. I am persuaded that the same affinity may be traced between the two whom I have mentioned, and that in that acuteness and eloquence which are the acknowledged qualities of the minister of Kilmany, he discovers the relation which he bears to his granduncle. On making this remark to one of my brethren from Fife acquainted with both, he seemed to think that the former was superior in point of talent; to which I replied, that in some respects it might be true, as there were some sciences in which the former had made proficiency to which your father had paid no attention, nay, in fact, always treated with contempt—I here refer to Chemistry and Political Economy. Besides, I told him that it was only in the decline of life that I was acquainted with your father, but that even in that stage, when, alas! most of us exhibit nothing but infirmities, I was much disposed to think that he was wrong. I am not sure that your father would have engaged with the ardour with which the minister of Kilmany does in Missionary and Bible Societies. Here, however, I have perhaps rather ascribed to your father my own ideas than his. For my own part, I must own to you that I have never yet seen any proper call to us for engaging in the measures of these Societies, and such is the feeling of this part of the country with a very few exceptions."

CHAPTER XVI.

MINISTRY AT KILMANY—ITS FIRST SEVEN YEARS—THE CHANGE—THE SICK-ROOM—THE VISITATION—THE EXAMINATION—THE CLASS FOR THE YOUNG—THE PULPIT—THE RESULT.

PAROCHIAL duty pressed lightly upon Mr. Chalmers during the first seven years of his ministry at Kilmany. If he "expended as much effort upon the religious improvement of his people as any minister within the bounds of his presbytery," if he could triumphantly challenge his brethren to prove that he had been "outstripped by any of his predecessors in the regularity of his ministerial attentions,"* the standards to which he thus appealed must have been miserably low. The sick and the dying among his parishioners had not indeed been neglected during those earlier years. Kindly inquiries were made, tender sympathy was shewn, and needful aid was tendered; but no solicitude was manifested as to their religious condition, no references occurred in visiting them to their state and prospects for eternity, and it was only when specially requested to do so that he engaged in prayer. Two or three weeks were annually devoted to a visitation of his parish, so rapidly conducted that he scarcely did more than hurriedly enter many a dwelling to summon its inmates to a short address, given in some neighbouring apartment, and confined generally to one or other of the more ordinary moralities of domestic life. With the general body of his parishioners he had little intercourse. They might meet

* See *ante*, pp. 89, 90.

him occasionally on the road, and receive the kindliest notice, but the smile of friendly recognition broke over a countenance of dreamy abstraction; and when the quickly-made but cordial salutation was over and he was gone, his wondering parishioners would gaze after him as upon a man wholly addicted to very strange, and, in the eyes of many of them, very questionable pursuits. Comparatively little time or care was bestowed upon his pulpit preparations. "I have known him," says Mr. Smith, "not to begin them till Sabbath morning. He told me that he wrote in short-hand, and when once he began he kept the pen going till he had finished the discourse. His sermons were in general very short." But they were written in a fervid strain, and delivered with energetic animation. The first effect, indeed, of the great spiritual change, was to chasten rather than to stimulate the vehemence of his delivery in the pulpit. In those earlier days, whether from choice or from necessity, he frequently preached without any written notes. The obstructions afterwards complained of and felt to be invincible, do not then appear to have stood much in his way, for he never used so ardent and so significant an elocution as in those fervid extempore expostulations upon stealing or lying or backbiting, explained according to popular belief by the circumstance, that the minister had come home late on the Saturday evening, and that the indefatigable newsmonger, John Bonthron, had been seen entering the manse shortly after his arrival. When the impulse moved, or the occasion invited, Mr. Chalmers could write as eloquently then as he ever did afterwards. The two fast-day sermons of this period* have been compared with that splendid discourse which the occasion of the first of them elicited from Robert Hall. Without pressing that comparison to an issue, it may be taken as a very signal proof of the native genius

* See *Posthumous Works*, vol. vi. pp. 40 and 62.

of their author, that two discourses, written off-hand, written in all likelihood each at a single sitting, prepared for thin audiences of unsympathizing rustics, and thrown aside as soon as delivered, should be capable of bearing a comparison with an effort which was made, in the first instance, before a crowded and intelligent audience, and upon which all the care and skill of one of the greatest masters in the art of composition had afterwards been lavished. Upon the whole, however, and till the period of his illness at Fincraigs, Mr. Chalmers' ministry was unpopular and ineffective, his church but poorly attended, and his private ministrations followed with but trifling effects. But the great change came, and with it a total alteration in the discharge of all parochial duty. From a place of visible subordination, the spiritual care and cultivation of his parish was elevated to the place of clear and recognised supremacy. To break up the peace of the indifferent and secure by exposing at once the guilt of their ungodliness and its fearful issue in a ruined eternity—to spread out an invitation wide as heaven's own all-embracing love, to every awakened sinner to accept of eternal life in Jesus Christ—to plead with all, that instantly and heartily, with all good-will and with full and unreserved submission, they should give themselves up in absolute and entire dedication to the Redeemer—these were the objects for which he was now seen to strive with such a "severity of conviction" as implied that he had *one thing to do,* and "with such a concentration of his forces as to idle spectators looked like insanity." *

The first use he made of that returning strength which, after so many months' confinement, enabled him to cross again the threshold of Fincraigs, was to visit all the sick, the dying, and the bereaved in his parish; and when all trace and feeling of his own infirmity had departed, he still delighted to mingle

* Foster's character of Howard.

his sympathies with the weak and the sorrowful. There was indeed such a restless activity about his manner, such a physical incapacity for very soft or gentle movements, that the sick-room seemed an uncongenial place; yet there was such exquisite tenderness of feeling, such rapid appreciation of the condition of the patient, and such capacity in a few short and weighty sentences to minister to his spiritual sorrows or perplexity, that a brief visit from him was often sufficient to shed a flood of light upon the understanding, or to pour a full tide of comfort into the heart. Extreme delicacy of feeling and his own great reserve threw obstacles in his way, which were often very painfully felt by him. But if he could not at once overcome the barriers which lay in the way of an immediate, free, and confidential spiritual intercourse, he could speak of Him whose love to sinners had no limits, and lay under no restraints. "No one ever preached the gospel to the dying with greater simplicity or fulness, and yet with characteristic simplicity he would often say, 'Oh! that I could preach to the sick and dying as Mr. Tait of Tealing does.'"* His interest in this as in every other part of his ministerial labours, grew with his own advancing light and love. During the years 1813, 1814, the only two years of full ministerial labour at Kilmany, he made a few short-hand memoranda, entitled, "Records of spiritual intercourse with my people." Guided by these, let us follow Mr. Chalmers in one or two of his visits to the sick-chamber or the house of mourning.

"*February* 15*th*, 1813.—Visited Mrs. B., who is unwell, and prayed. Let me preach Christ in all simplicity, and let me have a peculiar eye on others. I spoke of looking unto Jesus, and deriving thence all our delight and confidence.—O God, give me wisdom and truth in this household part of my duty.

* MS. Memoranda, by the Rev. Islay Burns.

"*February 21st.*—Visited at Dalyell Lodge. They are in great affliction for the death of a child. I prayed with them. O God, make me wise and faithful, and withal affectionate in my management of these cases. I fear that something of the sternness of systematic orthodoxy adheres to me. Let me give up all sternness; but let me never give up the only name by which men can be saved, or the necessity of forsaking all to follow Him, whether as a Saviour or a Prince.

"*March 25th.*—Visited a young man in consumption. The call not very pleasant; but this is of no consequence.—O my God, direct me how to do him good.

"*June 2d.*—Mr. —— sent for me in prospect of death; a man of profligate and profane habits, who resents my calling him an unworthy sinner, and who spoke in loud and confident strains of his faith in Christ, and that it would save him.—O God, give me wisdom in these matters to declare the whole of Thy counsel for the salvation of men. I represented to him the necessity of being born again, of being humbled under a sense of his sins, of repenting and turning from them.—O may I turn it to my own case. If faith in Christ is so unsuitable from his mouth because he still loves sin, and is unhumbled because of it, should not the conviction be forced upon me that I labour myself under the same unsuitableness?—O my God, give me a walk suitable to my profession, and may the power of Christ rest upon me.

"*June 4th.*—Visited Mr. —— again. Found him worse, but displeased at my method of administering to his spiritual wants. He said that it was most unfortunate that he had sent for me; talked of my having inspired him with gloomy images, but seemed quite determined to buoy himself up in Antinomian security. He did not ask me to pray. I said a little to him, and told him that I should be ready to attend him whenever he sent for me.

"*August 9th.*—Miss —— under religious concern.—O my God, send her help from Thy sanctuary. Give me wisdom for these cases. Let me not heal the wound slightly; and, oh while I administer comfort in Christ, may it be a comfort according to godliness. She complains of the prevalence of sin. Let me not abate her sense of its sinfulness. Let me preach Christ in all His entireness, as one that came to atone for the guilt of sin, and to redeem from its power.

"*March 15th,* 1814.—Poor Mr. Bonthron, I think, is dying. I saw him and prayed, after a good deal of false delicacy. O my God, give me to be pure of his blood, and to bear with effect upon his conscience. Work faith in him with power. I have little to record in the way of encouragement. He does not seem alarmed himself about the state of his health, and, I fear, has not a sufficient alarm upon more serious grounds. It is a difficult and heavy task for me; and when I think of my having to give an account of the souls committed to me, well may I say—Who is sufficient for these things?

"*March 23d.*—Mr. Bonthron was able to be out, and drank tea with us. I broke the subject of eternity with him. He acquiesces; you carry his assent always along with you, but you feel as if you have no point of resistance, and are making no impression.

"*March 26th and 27th.*—Prayed each of these days with Mr. Bonthron. I did not feel that anything like deep or saving impression was made.—O Lord, enable me to be faithful!

"*April 3d.*—Visited John Bonthron.

"*April 5th.*—Prayed with more enlargement with John than usual. I see no agitations of remorse; but should this prevent me from preaching Christ in His freeness? The whole truth is the way to prevent abuses.

"*April 6th and 8th.*—Visited Mr. Bonthron.

"*April 9th.*—Read and commented on a passage of the

Bible to John. This I find a very practicable, and I trust effectual way of bringing home the truth to him."

The next day was the Sabbath, on the morning of which a message was brought to the manse that Mr. Bonthron was worse. While the people were assembling for worship, Mr. Chalmers went to see him once more, and, surrounded by as many as the room could admit, he prayed fervently at his bedside. No trace remains of another visit.

Prosecuting his earlier practice of visiting and examining in alternate years, he commenced a visitation of his parish in 1813, which, instead of being finished in a fortnight, was spread over the whole year. As many families as could conveniently be assembled in one apartment were in the first instance visited in their own dwellings, where, without any religious exercise, a free and cordial conversation, longer or shorter as the case required, informed him as to the condition of the different households. When they afterwards met together, he read the Scriptures, prayed, and exhorted, making at times the most familiar remarks, using very simple yet memorable illustrations. "I have a very lively recollection," says Mr. Robert Edie, "of the intense earnestness of his addresses on occasions of visitation in my father's house, when he would unconsciously move forward on his chair to the very margin of it, in his anxiety to impart to the family and servants the impressions of eternal things that so filled his own soul." "It would take a great book," said he, beginning his address to one of these household congregations, "to contain the names of all the individuals that have ever lived, from the days of Adam down to the present hour; but there is one name that takes in the whole of them—that name is *sinner:* and here is a message from God to every one that bears that name—'The blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin.'" Wishing to tell them what kind of faith God would have them to cherish,

and what kind of fear, and how it was that instead of hindering each other, the right fear and the right faith worked into each other's hands, he said, "It is just as if you threw out a rope to a drowning man. Faith is the hold he takes of it. It is fear which makes him grasp it with all his might; and the greater his fear, the firmer his hold." Again, to illustrate what the Spirit did with the Word: "This book, the Bible, is like a wide and beautiful landscape, seen afar off, dim and confused; but a good telescope will bring it near, and spread out all its rocks, and trees, and flowers, and verdant fields, and winding rivers at one's very feet. That telescope is the Spirit's teaching."

His own records of one or two of these visitations are instructive:—

"*February* 18*th*, 1813.—Visited at Bogtown, Hawkhill, and East Kinneir. No distinct observation of any of them being impressed with what I said. At East Kinneir I gave intimation that if any laboured under difficulties, or were anxious for advice upon spiritual and divine subjects, I am at all times in readiness to help them. Neglected this intimation at Hawkhill, but let me observe this ever after.

"*February* 16*th*.—A diet of visitation at ——. Had intimate conversation only with M. W. I thought the —— a little impressed with my exhortation about family worship, and the care of watching over the souls of their children. I should like to understand if —— has family worship.

"*March* 9*th*.—Visited at ——. The children present. This I think highly proper, and let me study a suitable and impressive address to them in all time coming.

"*May* 19*th*.—Visited at ——. I am not sure if I could perceive anything like salutary impression among them; but I do not know, and perhaps I am too apt to be discouraged. C. S. and J. P. the most promising.—O my God, give me to grow in

the knowledge and observation of the fruits of the Spirit and of His work upon the hearts of sinners.

"*August 9th.*—Visited at Hill Cairney. Resigned myself to the suggestions of the moment, at least did not adhere to the plan of discourse that I had hitherto adopted. I perceived an influence go along with it.—O my God, may this influence increase more and more. I commit the success to Thee."

In examining his parish he divided it into districts, arranging it so that the inhabitants of each district could be accommodated in some neighbouring barn or school-house. On the preceding Sabbath all were summoned to attend, when it was frequently announced that the lecture then delivered would form the subject of remark and catechizing. Generally, however, the Shorter Catechism was used as the basis of the examination. Old and young, male and female, were required to stand up in their turn, and not only to give the answer as it stood in the Catechism, but to show, by their replies to other questions, whether they fully understood that answer. What in many hands might have been a formidable operation, was made light by the manner of the examiner. When no reply was given, he hastened to take all the blame upon himself. "I am sure," he would say, "I have been most unfortunate in putting the question in that particular way," and then would change its form. He was never satisfied till an answer of some kind or other was obtained. The attendance on these examinations was universal, and the interest taken in them very great. They informed the minister of the amount of religious knowledge possessed by his people, and he could often use them as convenient opportunities of exposing any bad practice which had been introduced, or was prevailing in any particular part of his parish. Examining thus at a farm-house, one of the ploughmen was called up. The question in order

was, "Which is the eighth commandment?" "But what is stealing?" "Taking what belongs to another, and using it as if it were your own." "Would it be stealing, then, in you to take your master's oats or hay, contrary to his orders, and give it to his horses?" This was one of the many ways in which he sought to instil into the minds of his people a high sense of justice and truth, even in the minutest transactions of life.

"*November* 30*th*, 1813.—Examined at ——. J. W. and R. T. both in tears. The former came out to me agitated and under impression.

"*January* 20*th*, 1814.—Had a day of examination, and felt more of the presence and unction of the Spirit than usual.

"*January* 21*st*.—Had a day of examination. Made a simple commitment of myself to God in Christ before entering into the house.

"*February* 8*th*.—Examined, and have to bless God for force and freeness. D. absenting himself from all ordinances. Let me be fearless at least in my general address, and give me prudence and resolution, O Lord, in the business of particularly addressing individuals. I pray that God may send home the message with power to the people's hearts.

"*February* 23*d*.—Examined ——. A very general seriousness and attention. B. and his wife still, I fear, very much behind.

"*April* 5*th*.—Examined at P. I can see something like a general seriousness, but no decided marks in any individual.

"*March* 8*th*.—Examined at S. The man P. B. deficient in knowledge, and even incapable of reading—the father of a family too. I receive a good account of ——. Oh! that they may be added to the number of such as shall be saved.

"*July* 2*d*.—Examined with more enlargement and seriousness. I feel as if there was an intelligence and good spirit

among the people.—O God, satisfy me with success; but I commit all to Thee.

"*July 27th.*—Examined at ——. The family afraid of examination, I think, and they sent me into a room by myself among the servants. This I liked not; but, O God, keep me from all personal feeling on the occasion. I brought it on myself by my own accommodating speeches. I have too much of the fear of man about me. Never felt more dull and barren. I feel my dependence on God. I pray for a more earnest desire after the Christianity of my parish, and, oh may that desire be accomplished.—O God, fit a poor, dark, ignorant and wandering creature for being a minister of Thy word! Uphold me by Thy free Spirit, and then will I teach transgressors Thy ways."

The family here referred to was that of a farmer recently settled in the parish, and who, unfamiliar with the practice of examination, felt at the first a not unnatural reluctance to be subjected to it. On his return to the manse, Mr. Chalmers jotted down the preceding impressive notice of his reception and its result. In the afternoon of the same day he went back to the family; told them that, as they had not come to him in the morning, he had just come to them in the evening to go over the exercise with themselves. The frank and open kindness of the act won their instant compliance, and brought its own reward.

In the autumn of 1813, Mr. Chalmers opened a class in his own house upon the Saturdays, for the religious instruction of the young. At first he intended that it should meet monthly: the numbers, however, who presented themselves for instruction, and the ardour with which they entered upon the tasks prescribed, induced a change of purpose. After the first meeting or two, he announced his intention to hold the class each fortnight, and ere long it met weekly at the manse. He drew

out a series of simple propositions, which embraced a full system of Christian doctrine; appending to each a reference to those passages of the Bible in which the truth declared in the proposition was most clearly or fully revealed. These propositions, with their proofs, were printed at Dundee; and the little volume which they formed has already been circulated in thousands among those who have interested themselves in the religious education of the young.* Besides his exercises upon Scripture doctrine, Mr. Chalmers read and explained portions of the Bible, and prescribed select passages for committal to memory. He was highly gratified by the whole youth of the parish, even from its remoter districts, coming forward with such willingness; and he repaid their readiness to receive instruction by making diligent preparation for communicating to them the knowledge of the truth, and fixing religious impressions on their hearts. In no department of his ministerial labours did he take a deeper interest, and upon none, in proportion to the space which it covered, did he bestow more pains. It was only during a year and a half that the class continued, and yet three years after his removal from Kilmany he could say—"I met with a more satisfying evidence of good done by a school which I taught when at Kilmany, than by all I ever did there besides. A good encouragement this for the efforts of private Christians in this way."†

Much however as may have been accomplished by the class, the pulpit was, after all, the chief instrument of power; and from the time when profound religious convictions penetrated his spirit, Mr. Chalmers laboured to wield that instrument with effect. There must have been something particularly pathetic

* Scripture References; designed for the use of Parents, Teachers, and Private Christians. Dundee: printed by R. S. Rintoul for Edward Lesslie, bookseller. 1814.

† In a letter to Mrs. Morton, dated October 13, 1818.

in his Sabbath ministrations during the summer months of 1810. The muffled invalid, who had been seen to make his first round of visits to all the houses of mourning in his parish, and of whose altered bearing and impressive prayers village rumour had already begun to speak, appeared once more in the pulpit. His sunk and sallow countenance told of the ravages of disease. He looked like one who had drawn very near to death, and whom a few steps backward would carry again to the very edge of the grave; and his most frequent topic was human mortality, the shortness of time, the nearness and awfulness of eternity. "Where are the men," he asked, his own voice sounding over the congregation like an echo from the tomb, "who a few years ago gave motion and activity to this busy theatre?—where those husbandmen who lived on the ground that you now occupy?—where those labouring poor who dwelt in your houses and villages?—where those ministers who preached the lessons of piety, and talked of the vanity of this world?—where those people who, on the Sabbaths of other times, assembled at the sound of the church-bell, and filled the house in which you are now sitting? Their habitation is the cold grave—the land of forgetfulness. * * * And we are the children of these fathers, and heirs to the same awful and stupendous destiny. Ours is one of the many generations who pass in rapid succession through this region of life and of sensibility. The time in which I live is but a small moment of this world's history. When we rise in contemplation to the roll of ages that are past, the momentary being of an individual shrinks into nothing. It is the flight of a shadow; it is a dream of vanity; it is the rapid glance of a meteor; it is a flower which every breath of heaven can wither into decay; it is a tale which as a remembrance vanisheth; it is a day which the silence of a long night will darken and overshadow. In a few years our heads will be laid in the cold grave, and the green

turf will cover us. The children who come after us will tread upon our graves; they will weep for us a few days; they will talk of us a few months; they will remember us a few years; when our memory shall disappear from the face of the earth, and not a tongue shall be found to recall it. * * * How perishable is human life, yet no man lays it to heart!"*

The opening months of 1811, as they brought tranquillity and establishment to his own heart, so they gave a new character to his Sabbath ministrations. It was not, however, till the close of that year that the complete re-establishment of his health, and the fulfilment of his engagements with Dr. Brewster, enabled him to give full time and strength to his compositions for the pulpit. The result was a series of discourses, a goodly number of which, delivered almost verbally as originally written, were listened to in after years by congregated thousands in Glasgow and Edinburgh and London, with wondering and entranced admiration. I have been able to trace to this period so many of the sermons afterwards selected by their author for publication, and have found so few alterations made on the original manuscripts in preparing them for the press, as to be satisfied that the three final years of his ministry at Kilmany supplied as many, as elaborate, and as eloquent discourses, as any other three years in the whole course of his ministry. It was not the stimulus of cultivated audiences, and an intellectual sphere—it was not the effort to win or to sustain a wide-spread popularity—it was not the straining after originality of thought or splendour of illustration, which gave to these discourses their peculiar form and character. They were, to a great extent, the spontaneous products of that new love and zeal which Divine grace had planted in his soul; the shape and texture of their eloquence

* *Posthumous Works*, vol. vi pp. 82, 83.

springing from the combined operation of all his energies—intellectual, moral, and emotional—whose native movements were now stimulated into a more glowing intensity of action by that controlling motive which concentrated them all upon one single and sublime accomplishment—the salvation of immortal souls.

Much time and great care were bestowed upon these preparations for the pulpit. Instead of the two or three hours which had once been sufficient, they now engrossed the leisure of the whole preceding week. And besides that weekly amount of composition which was necessary to meet the demands of each succeeding Sabbath, he had always a discourse in preparation upon which the occasional efforts of a whole month were expended—the two sets of sermons, from the different characters in which they were written, being described in his own vocabulary as his short-handers and his long-handers.* Not a few of these more slowly and carefully composed sermons were designedly upon texts from which he had preached in other years, to his former expositions of which he at times pointedly referred, at once to remedy any evil which his earlier teaching might have produced, and to make more vivid by the contrast his present understanding of the sacred oracles. Not long after his ordination at Kilmany, preaching from the text—"There is none righteous, no, not one," he had referred with great severity of censure to the dark and mystical representations of human depravity given by certain religionists.† In 1811, the same text was again chosen, and the new meaning now attached to it thus explained :—" Be not deceived, then, into a rejection of the text by the specimens of moral excellence which are to be met with in society, or by the praise

* Dr. Chalmers frequently advised young ministers, in addition to their ordinary preparations, to have a monthly and more elaborate sermon always in progress.

† The passage already quoted at pp. 148, 149, is taken from this discourse.

which your own virtue extorts from an applauding neighbourhood. Virtue may exist, and to such a degree, too, as is sufficient to constitute it a lovely object in the eyes of the world; but if in the cultivation of that virtue there be no reference of the mind to the authority of God, there is no religion. * * * It is well that you act your part aright as a member of society; and religion, by making it one of its injunctions, gives us the very best security that wherever its influence prevails it will be done in the most perfect manner; but the point which I labour to impress is, that a man may be what we all understand by a good member of society, without the authority of God as his legislator being either recognised or acted upon. I do not say that his error lies in being a good member of society: this though a circumstance, is a very fortunate one. The error lies in his having discarded the authority of God, or rather in never having admitted the influence of that authority over his principles. I want to guard him against the delusion that the principle which he has, ever can be accepted as a substitute for the principle which he has not; or that the very highest sense of duty which his situation as a member of society impresses upon his feelings, will ever be received as an atonement for wanting that sense of duty to God which he ought to feel in the far more exalted capacity of His servant, and candidate for His approbation. I stand upon the high ground that he is the subject of the Almighty, nor will I shrink from revealing the whole extent of my principles. Let his path in society be ever so illustrious by the virtues which adorn it—let every word and every performance be as honourable as a proud sense of integrity can make it—let the salutations of the market-place mark him out as the most respectable of the citizens, and the gratitude of a thousand families sing the praises of his beneficence to the world,—if the actor in this splendid exhibition carry in his mind no reference to the authority of God, I do

not hesitate a moment to pronounce him unworthy, nor shall all the execrations of generous but mistaken principle deter me from putting forth my hand to strip him of his honours. What! is the world to gaze in admiration on this fair spectacle of virtue, and am I to be told that the Being who gave such faculties to one of His children, and provides the theatre for their exercise—that the Being who called this scene into existence and gave it all its beauties—that He may be innocently forgotten and neglected? Shall I give a deceitful lustre to the virtues of him who is unmindful of his God? and with all the grandeur of eternity before me, can I learn to admire these short-lived exertions, which only shed a fleeting brilliancy over a paltry and perishable scene?"*

The discovery that pardon and full reconciliation with God are offered gratuitously to all men in Christ, had been the turning point in Mr. Chalmers' own spiritual history; and the most marked characteristic of his pulpit ministrations after his conversion was the frequency and fervour with which he held out to sinners Christ and His salvation as God's free gift, which it was their privilege and their duty at once and most gratefully to accept. Most earnest entreaties that every sinner he spoke to should come to Christ just as he was, and "bury all his fears in the sufficiency of the great atonement," were reiterated on each succeeding Sabbath, presented in all possible forms, and delivered in all different kinds of tones and of attitudes. He would desert for a minute or two his manuscript, that with greater directness and familiarity of phrase, greater pointedness and personality of application, he might urge upon their acceptance the gospel invitation. "He would bend over the pulpit," said one of his old hearers, "and press us to take the gift, as if he held it that moment

* *Posthumous Works*, vol. vi. pp. 175-177.

in his hand, and would not be satisfied till every one of us had got possession of it. And often when the sermon was over, and the psalm was sung, and he rose to pronounce the blessing, he would break out afresh with some new entreaty, unwilling to let us go until he had made one more effort to persuade us to accept of it."

"It is not," such were the words in which, upon one of these memorable Sabbaths, he addressed his parishioners, "because you are not so great a sinner that I would have you to be comforted; but it is because Jesus Christ is so great a Saviour: it is not the smallness of sin, but the greatness of Him who died for it. I would have you to be satisfied, but not with yourself, for this would be to lull you asleep by the administration of a poisoned opiate. I would have you to listen to that loud and widely-sounding call—'Look unto me, all ye ends of the earth, and be saved.' I would have you to look unto Jesus; and if truth and friendship have a power to charm you into tranquillity, you have them here. I would never cease to press the salvation of the gospel upon you as a gift; and as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God, I would call into action these appointed instruments for producing in the heart of the despairing sinner the faith which accepts the offer, and which holds it fast. I cannot ascend into heaven to bring down Jesus again upon the world, that you may hear the kindness which fell from His lips, and see the countenance most frankly expressive of it; but I can bring nigh unto you the word which He left behind Him. I can assure you upon the faith of that word which never lies, that what He was on earth He is still in heaven; and if in the history of the New Testament He was never found to send a diseased petitioner disappointed away, be assured that when He took up His body to the right hand of the everlasting throne, He took up all His kind and warm and generous sympathies

along with Him. I cannot shew you Him in person, but I can reveal Him to the eye of your mind as sitting there; and if you array Him in any other characters than in those of love and mildness and long-suffering, you do Him an injustice. He no longer speaks in His own person, but He speaks in the person of those to whom He has committed the word of reconciliation; and in the confidence that He will not falsify His own commission, or fall back by a single inch from the terms of it, we stand here as the ambassadors for Christ: as though God did beseech you by us, we pray you in Christ's stead be ye reconciled to God. I would have you to know the gift of God. I would have you to look upon it in the simplicity of an offer, on the one hand, and of a joyful and confiding acceptance on the other. When He was on earth great multitudes followed Him, and He healed them. Come to Him with your disease—the disease of a guilty and despairing mind. Do not think that either the will or the power of healing you is wanting. You approach Him in the most peculiar and in the greatest of His capacities, when you approach Him as the physician of souls; and be assured that the voice which He uttered in the hearing of His countrymen is of standing authority and signification to the very latest ages of the world—'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' Yes! if rest is to be found at all it must be given. It is upon the footing of a gift that I offer it to you. Not that you are worthy to receive the present, but that it is a present worthy of His generosity to bestow. Take it;—there is not a single passage in the Bible to exclude you from this act of confidence. Be not afraid—only believe—and according to your faith so will it be done unto you. You know not how ready—you know not how able—you know not how free—you know not how perfectly willing—nay, how eager and how delighted the Saviour is to receive all who come unto

Him—to listen to their complaints—to heal their diseases—to supply their every want, and administer to every necessity. This is the true and the faithful representation of Christ. Could I give you a real and a living impression of Him—could I fix in your hearts the image of Him such as He is—could I bring Him before you, offering and inviting, nay, beseeching you to be reconciled—could all this be done, (and I pray that this work of faith may be wrought in you with power,) then the melancholy which oppresses your heart and keeps it dark would be dissolved in an instant—the gospel would come to you not in word only, but in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance—and the object for which Paul laboured with the Galatians would be accomplished in you: Christ would be formed in you, and He would be made unto you of God, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

From the very outset of his own religious earnestness, Mr. Chalmers had painfully struggled against all that plainly and palpably was wrong, and diligently attempted all that plainly and palpably was right. In his subsequent addresses from the pulpit, he not only enjoined upon those who were in like circumstances the course which he had himself pursued, but he did this so very often and so very earnestly, that it became another of the peculiar and prominent characteristics of his ministry. Preaching from a favourite text, Hos. v. 4, "They will not frame their doings to turn unto their God," he said,—"Well, then, ye hearers who have just begun to think seriously of the matter, know that before ye are meet for the heavenly inheritance there must be a devotedness to God, there must be a spiritual obedience, there must be a conformity of the inner man to His service, there must be a consenting to the whole of His will. All this you must come to before you get to heaven; and you

will come to it if you set yourselves to the acquirement of it in good earnest. But, in the meantime, I have the warrant of my text and the example of my Saviour as a teacher, when I call on you to attend instantly to your outward doings, and to frame them in such a way as to prove that you are turning to the Lord. I call upon the drunkard to give up his intemperance, upon the liar to observe truth, upon the thief to give up stealing, upon the servant to give up all purloining and all disobedience, upon the profane swearer to give up his oaths, upon the Sabbath-breaker to give up the practice of seeking his own pleasure on God's holy day. Let the cunning give up their concealment, let the censorious give up their evil speakings, let the impure give up their unhallowed pleasures. These are obvious and declared duties, and I call you to the doing of them. I know that the mere outward performance of these duties may leave you still in the condition of condemned and unsheltered men; but I can say something far more appalling than this of the neglect of these duties. Their performance may leave you on the wrong side of the line of demarcation between the saved and the damned, but their neglect not only *may*, but *must* keep you there—not only may leave you in this awful condition, but will and must do it. The man who continues in known sin is not so much as stirring himself, not so much as setting out, not so much as going about it. You are not to think that your conversion is advanced, or even so much as entered upon, while your outward doings are so clearly in opposition to the Divine will. Give up your presumptuous sins; for, be assured, that while you persist in them all your aspirings after spirituality are but the self-deceivings of a hypocrite."* In his own case, the fruit of a sincere, earnest, sustained, and painstaking effort to frame his doings so as to turn unto his God, had been a remarkable verification of these declarations of the Divine word:

* Sermon in Manuscript.

"If any man will do God's will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God."—John vii. 17. "To him that ordereth his conversation aright will I show the salvation of God."—Ps. l. 23. When the reader, conversant with his writings, or personally acquainted with the manner in which his private ministrations were conducted, remembers what special favourites these passages were with him, and how he loved to expatiate on the great principle which they contain—and when he connects with this remembrance the reflection, that in the face of much controversy and under much censure he adhered tenaciously to the habit of giving it as one of his earliest counsels to those who were under religious anxiety, that they should carefully, and from the very first, frame all their outward doings so as to turn unto the Lord, he may be ready perhaps to believe that the intensity of Mr. Chalmers' convictions and his steadfastness in tendering such counsel drew not a little of their strength from the depths of his own spiritual experience.*

"I felt it myself," we quote here from one of his theological prelections, "as the greatest enlightenment and enlargement I ever had experienced when made to understand both the indispensable need of morality and the securities that we had for its being realized in the character of Christians, notwithstanding the doctrine that by faith, and by faith alone, we were justified—a doctrine which I at one time regarded as Antinomian in its tendencies, and as adverse to the interests of virtue and practical righteousness in the world."† At the time to which Mr. Chalmers here refers, the doctrine of a free justification through faith in an imputed righteousness was not only repudiated, but the character and conduct of its most strenuous sup-

* See *Works*, vol vi. pp. 317-320; viii. 71-76; viii. 98, 99; x. 86-93; x. 292-310; xii. 71-120; xxii. 28-34; xxiii. 178-180; xxiii. 189-198; xxiii. 201-207; xxiv. 58; xxiv. 71, 72; xxiv. 156, 157; xxv. 309, 310. *Posthumous Works*, vol. viii pp. 255-267, and p. 281; ix. 389, 390.

† *Posthumous Works*, vol. ix. p. 376.

porters—as exhibiting too often gross departures from some of the most obvious and incumbent moralities of life—had proved a stumblingblock and an offence. And when the "enlightenment and enlargement" came, it showed itself in his affirming so constantly as he did, that those who believed should be careful to maintain good works. "His ministry then, as afterwards, was eminently practical. He set his face against every form of evil, both in the pulpit and out of it. He particularly pressed upon country people thorough honesty and uprightness, and the practice of the law of love by abstaining from all malice and evil-speaking. The ostentation of flaming orthodoxy, or talk of religious experience when not borne out by the life, was the object of his thorough abhorrence."* The deep and pungent feeling which the conduct of some professing Christians awakened, was in one instance most touchingly displayed in the pulpit of Kilmany. Preaching on a sacramental occasion, he thus closed his discourse:—

"Whatever there may be now—in the days of Paul, at least, there were men who turned the grace of God into licentiousness, and who ranked among the privileges of the gospel an immunity for sin. And it is striking to observe the effect of this corruption on the mind of the apostle;—that he who braved all the terrors of persecuting violence, that he who stood undismayed before kings and governors, and could lift his intrepid testimony in the hearing of an enraged multitude—that he who, when bound by a chain between two soldiers, still sustained an invincible constancy of spirit, and could live

* MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Islay Burns of Dundee, grounded upon the information of Miss Collier, one of Dr. Chalmers' earliest and most valued Christian friends.

"*Journal, 7th September* 1814.—Let me cultivate a more delicate regard to the feelings of others. Hear reports of falsehood and censoriousness in some of my professing parishioners.—O my God, give me the meekness of wisdom in reference to the gossiping which I hate, and the slander which I know to be a work of the flesh."

in fearlessness, and triumph, with the dark imagery of an approaching execution in his eye—that he who counted not his life dear unto him, and whose manly breast bore him up amidst all the threats of human tyranny, and the grim apparatus of martyrdom—that this man so firm and so undaunted, wept like a child when he heard of those disciples that turned the pardon of the cross into an encouragement for doing evil. The fiercest hostilities of the gospel's open enemies he could brave, but when he heard of the foul dishonour done to the name of his Master by the moral worthlessness of those who were the gospel's professing friends, this he could not bear—all that firmness which so upheld him unfaltering and unappalled in the battles of the faith, forsook him then; and this noblest of champions on the field of conflict and of controversy, when he heard of the profligacy of his own converts, was fairly overcome by the tidings, and gave way to all the softness of womanhood. When every other argument then fails for keeping you on the path of integrity and holiness, O think of the argument of Paul in tears! It may be truly termed a picturesque argument—nor are we aware of a more impressive testimony in the whole compass of Scripture, to the indispensable need of virtue and moral goodness in a believer—that is to be found in that passage where Paul says of these unworthy professors of the faith, 'For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ; whose end is destruction, whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things.'"* Describing thus the Apostle's emotion, a flood of tenderness overwhelmed him, and he himself burst into tears.

It was not long till the whole aspect of the Sabbath congregations in Kilmany church was changed. The stupid wonder

* *Works*, vol. xiii. pp. 253, 254. The Introductory Essay to "Booth's Reign of Grace" was originally a sermon preached from the text Jer. l. 5.

which used to sit on the countenances of the few villagers or farm-servants who attended divine service, was turned into a fixed, intelligent, and devout attention. It was not easy for the dullest to remain uninformed; for, if the preacher sometimes soared too high for the best trained of his people to follow him, at other times, and much oftener, he put the matter of his message so as to force for it an entrance into the most sluggish understanding. Nor was it easy for the most indifferent to remain unmoved, as the first fervours of a new-born faith and love found such thrilling strains in which to vent themselves. The church became crowded. The feeling grew with the numbers who shared in it. The fame of those wonderful discourses which were now emanating from the burning lips of this new evangelist spread throughout the neighbourhood, till at last there was not an adjacent parish which did not send its weekly contribution to his ministry. Persons from extreme distances in the county found themselves side by side in the same crowded pew. Looking over the congregation, the inhabitant of Dundee could generally count a dozen or two of his fellow-townsmen around him, while ministers from Edinburgh or Glasgow were occasionally detected among the crowd.

All this told distinctly enough of the popularity of the preacher; but within the parish, and as the effect of such a ministry as has been now described, what were the spiritual results?—Too delicate a question this for any full or satisfactory reply: but of one Sabbath's service we shall tell the fruits. It was in the spring of 1812, and the preacher's text was John iii. 16,—"God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Two young men heard this sermon, the one the son of a farmer in the parish, the other the son of one of the villagers. They met as the congregation dispersed. "Did you feel any thing particularly in church to-

day?" Alexander Paterson said to his acquaintance, Robert Edie, as they found themselves alone upon the road. "I never," he continued, "felt myself to be a lost sinner till to-day, when I was listening to that sermon." "It is very strange," said his companion; "it was just the same with me." They were near a plantation, into which they wandered, as the conversation proceeded. Hidden at last from all human sight, it was proposed that they should join in prayer. Screened by the opening foliage, they knelt on the fresh green sod, and poured out in turn their earnest petitions to the hearer and answerer of prayer. Both dated their conversion from that day. Alexander Paterson went shortly afterwards to reside in the neighbouring parish of Dairsie, but attended regularly on the Sabbath at Kilmany church. His friend, Robert Edie, generally convoyed him part of the way home. About one hundred yards from the road along which they travelled, in the thickly-screened seclusion of a close plantation, and under the shade of a branching fir-tree, the two friends found a quiet retreat, where, each returning Sabbath evening, the eye that seeth in secret looked down upon these two youthful disciples of the Saviour on their knees, and for an hour their ardent prayers alternately ascended to the throne of grace. The practice was continued for years, till a private footpath of their own had been opened to the trysting-tree; and when, a few years ago, after long absence on the part of both, they met at Kilmany, at Mr. Edie's suggestion they revisited the spot, and renewing the sacred exercise, offered up their joint thanksgivings to that God who had kept them by His grace, and in their separate spheres had honoured each of them with usefulness in the Church. Mr. Paterson has now laboured for twenty-two years as a missionary in the Canongate of Edinburgh, not without many pleasing evidences that his labours have been blessed; and I have reason to believe

that by his efforts in behalf of Bible and Missionary Societies, through means of Sabbath Schools and prayer meetings, and by the light of a guiding and consistent example, Mr. Edie's life, while one of active industry, has also been one of devoted Christian usefulness.*

Other individual instances of spiritual benefit derived from Mr. Chalmers' ministrations it would have been a pleasant task to record; and, had he not been so soon removed from Kilmany, the hopeful appearances which were presenting themselves, especially among the young who attended his Saturday classes, might have ripened into a goodly spiritual fruitage.† One general testimony, however, as valuable perhaps as ever minister left behind him, and given by Mr. Chalmers himself, as to the separate effects of his ministry during the two periods into which, spiritually contemplated, it divided itself, must not be withheld.

"And here‡ I cannot but record the effect of an actual though undesigned experiment, which I prosecuted for upwards of twelve years among you. For the greater part of that time I could expatiate on the meanness of dishonesty, on the villany of falsehood, on the despicable arts of calumny; in a word, upon all those deformities of character which awaken the na-

* "Robert Edie is a very fine fellow. He has lately been very eloquent in some missionary meetings at Cupar, where I am glad to say that something like an appearance of seriousness is becoming visible. Dr. and Mrs. W—— are really in decided earnest."—*Letter from Dr. Chalmers to Mrs. Morton, dated October 18th, 1818.*

† "You recollect my brother David's lengthened illness," writes Mr. Edie to Mr. Paterson, with reference to a brother who died after Dr. Chalmers' removal from Kilmany, "and the great kindness Dr. C. showed him on his deathbed, often conversing and praying with him. One day, after visiting him, I walked out with Dr. C.; still talking of my brother's spiritual state, he made a sudden halt, and holding up his staff in his hand, said with warmth—'How consoling the thought that your brother will be a monument of Divine grace to all eternity!'"

‡ Extracted from an "Address to the Inhabitants of the Parish of Kilmany," published in 1815.

tural indignation of the human heart against the pests and the disturbers of human society. Now, could I, upon the strength of these warm expostulations, have got the thief to give up his stealing, and the evil speaker his censoriousness, and the liar his deviations from truth, I should have felt all the repose of one who had gotten his ultimate object. It never occurred to me that all this might have been done, and yet the soul of every hearer have remained in full alienation from God ; and that even could I have established in the bosom of one who stole, such a principle of abhorrence at the meanness of dishonesty, that he was prevailed upon to steal no more, he might still have retained a heart as completely unturned to God, and as totally unpossessed by a principle of love to Him as before. In a word, though I might have made him a more upright and honourable man, I might have left him as destitute of the essence of religious principle as ever. But the interesting fact is, that during the whole of that period in which I made no attempt against the natural enmity of the mind to God, while I was inattentive to the way in which this enmity is dissolved, —even by the free offer on the one hand, and the believing acceptance on the other, of the gospel salvation,—while Christ, through whose blood the sinner, who by nature stands afar off, is brought near to the heavenly Lawgiver whom he has offended, was scarcely ever spoken of, or spoken of in such a way as stripped Him of all the importance of His character and His offices, even at this time I certainly did press the reformations of honour, and truth, and integrity among my people : but I never once heard of any such reformations having been effected amongst them. If there was anything at all brought about in this way, it was more than ever I got any account of. I am not sensible that all the vehemence with which I urged the virtues and the proprieties of social life, had the weight of a feather on the moral habits of my parishioners. And it was

not till I got impressed by the utter alienation of the heart in all its desires and affections from God; it was not till reconciliation to Him became the distinct and the prominent object of my ministerial exertions; it was not till I took the scriptural way of laying the method of reconciliation before them; it was not till the free offer of forgiveness through the blood of Christ was urged upon their acceptance, and the Holy Spirit given through the channel of Christ's mediatorship to all who ask Him was set before them as the unceasing object of their dependence and their prayers; in one word, it was not till the contemplations of my people were turned to these great and essential elements in the business of a soul providing for its interest with God and the concerns of its eternity, that I ever heard of any of those subordinate reformations which I aforetime made the earnest and the zealous, but I am afraid at the same time, the ultimate object of my earlier ministrations. Ye servants, whose scrupulous fidelity has now attracted the notice, and drawn forth in my hearing a delightful testimony from your masters, what mischief you would have done, had your zeal for doctrines and sacraments been accompanied by the sloth and the remissness, and what, in the prevailing tone of moral relaxation, is counted the allowable purloining of your earlier days! But a sense of your Heavenly Master's eye has brought another influence to bear upon you; and while you are thus striving to adorn the doctrine of God your Saviour in all things, you may, poor as you are, reclaim the great ones of the land to the acknowledgment of the faith. You have at least taught me, that to preach Christ is the only effective way of preaching morality in all its branches; and out of your humble cottages have I gathered a lesson, which I pray God I may be enabled to carry with all its simplicity into a wider theatre, and to bring with all the power of its subduing efficacy upon the vices of a more crowded population."

CHAPTER XVII.

SEVEN LIVES SAVED BY MR HONEY—HIS FUNERAL SERMON AT BENDOCHY—DEPUTATION FROM GLASGOW—THE CANVASS—DR. JONES' LETTER—THE ELECTION—FAREWELL SERMON AT KILMANY.

ONE fearful winter day the intelligence circulated through St. Andrews that a vessel had been driven upon a sandbank in the bay to the eastward of the town. A crowd of sailors, citizens, and students soon collected upon the beach; for the vessel had been cast ashore but a few hundred yards from the houses, and she lay so near, that though the heavy air was darkened by the driving sleet, they could see at intervals the figures of the crew clinging to rope or spar ere each breaker burst upon her side, and shrouded all in surfy mist and darkness. In a calm sea a few vigorous strokes would have carried a good swimmer to the vessel's side, but now the hardiest fishermen drew back, and dared not face the fearful surge. At last a student of divinity volunteered. Tying a rope round his waist and struggling through the surf, he threw himself among the waves. Forcing his slow way through the raging element, he was nearing the vessel's side, when his friends on shore, alarmed at the length of time and slow rate of recent progress, began to pull him back. Seizing a knife which he carried between his teeth, he cut this rope away, and reaching at last the stranded sloop, drew a fresh one from her to the shore: but hungry, weak, and wearied, after four days' foodless tossing through the tempest, not one of the crew had strength

or courage left to use it. He again rushed into the waves; he boarded the vessel, he took them man by man, and bore them to the land. Six men were rescued thus. His seventh charge was a boy, so helpless that twice was the hold let go, and twice he had to dive after him into the deep. Meanwhile, in breathless stillness the crowd had watched each perilous passage, till the double figure was seen tossing landward through the spray. But when the deed was done, and the whole crew saved, a loud cheer of admiring triumph rose around the gallant youth.

This chivalrous action was performed by Mr. John Honey, one of Mr. Chalmers' early and cherished college friends, afterwards ordained as minister of Bendochy, in Perthshire. Though his great strength and spirit bore him apparently untired through the efforts of that exhausting day, there was reason to believe that in saving the life of others he had sacrificed his own. The seeds of a deceitful malady were sown which afterwards proved fatal. Mr. Chalmers was asked, and consented to preach his funeral sermon on the 30th of October 1814, the Sabbath after his funeral. It was a brilliant autumn day. The number being too great to be accommodated in the church, one of its windows had been taken out, and a few boards thrown across the sill to form a platform, from which the preacher, while standing but a yard or two from Mr. Honey's grave, might be heard both by those within the building and those seated on the scattered tombstones of the churchyard. A hum in the crowd, (I now speak on the authority and almost in the words of an eye-witness,) and a melancholy tolling of the bell, announced the approach of the preacher, who seated himself for a minute or two in an old elbow-chair, took the psalm-book from a little table before him, turned hastily over a few of the leaves, and then rose in the most awkward and even helpless manner. Before he read the lines which were to be sung, his large and apparently

leaden eyes were turned towards the recent grave, with a look wildly pathetic, fraught with intense and indescribable passion. The psalm was read with no very promising elocution ; and while the whole mass of the people were singing it, he sunk into the chair, turned seemingly into a monumental statue of the coldest stone, so deadly pale was his large broad face and forehead. The text was read : Deut. xxxii. 29,—" O that they were wise ; that they understood this; that they would consider their latter end!" The doctrinal truth which he meant to inculcate being established on a basis of reasoning so firm that doubt could not move or sophistry shake it, he bounded at once upon the structure which he had reared; and by that inborn and unteachable power of the spirit, which nature has reserved for the chosen of her sons, and which shakes off all the disadvantages and encumbrances of figure and voice and language as easily as the steed shakes the thistle-down from his side, carried the hearts and the passions of all who heard him with irresistible and even tremendous sway. " It strikes me," said the preacher—and as the words were spoken there was a silence among the living almost as deep as that which reigned among the dead who lay beneath—"It strikes me as the most impressive of all sentiments, that it will be all the same a hundred years after this. It is often uttered in the form of a proverb, and with the levity of a mind that is not aware of its importance. A hundred years after this! Good heavens! with what speed and with what certainty will those hundred years come to their termination. This day will draw to a close, and a number of days makes up one revolution of the seasons. Year follows year, and a number of years makes up a century. These little intervals of time accumulate and fill up that mighty space which appears to the fancy so big and so immeasurable. The hundred years will come, and they will see out the wreck of whole generations. Every living thing that now moves on

the face of the earth will disappear from it. The infant that now hangs on his mother's bosom will only live in the remembrance of his grandchildren. The scene of life and of intelligence that is now before me will be changed into the dark and loathsome forms of corruption. The people who now hear me will cease to be spoken of; their memory will perish from the face of the country; their flesh will be devoured with worms; the dark and creeping things that live in the holes of the earth will feed upon their bodies; their coffins will have mouldered away, and their bones be thrown up in the new-made grave. And is this the consummation of all things? Is this the final end and issue of man? Is this the upshot of his busy history? Is there nothing beyond time and the grave to alleviate the gloomy picture, to chase away these dismal images? Must we sleep for ever in the dust, and bid an eternal adieu to the light of heaven?"*

"I have seen," adds our informant, "many scenes, and I have heard many eloquent men, but this I have never seen equalled, or even imitated. It was not learning, it was not art—it was the untaught and the unencumbered incantation of genius, the mightiest engine of which the world can boast."

One group of auditors, Mr. Robert Tennent, jun., and four other Glasgow citizens, took a peculiar interest in the services of this Sabbath day. They came to Bendochy, as members of the Town-Council of Glasgow, to hear Mr. Chalmers as one who had been named as a candidate for the Tron Church in that city, vacant at this time in consequence of its former minister, Dr. Macgill, having been appointed to the Chair of Theology. The canvass for this vacancy was at this time at its height, and a singular and unprecedented interest had been attached to it. Early in September Mr. John Tennent had written to his friend, Mr. David Pitcairn of Leith:—"As I know you are a lover

* *Posthumous Works*, vol. vi. pp. 83.

of the truth, and wish its influence extended among your fellow-creatures, I have to request that you will aid in a plan which my friends and I have formed of bringing Mr. Chalmers of Kilmany to Glasgow. What I wish is, that you would get Mr. Bonar to write a strong letter to Mr. More in favour of Mr. Chalmers, stating what his character is, which has been much abused, and also requesting him to use his influence among his brother councillors to recommend him to the vacancy. * * * Write us as soon as you have done anything, and have laid the matter before your father and friends. * * * The cry to-day is that Chalmers is mad!"* Mr. Pitcairn's father wrote instantly himself to Mr. More. "I have shown your father's letter," Mr. Tennent replied, "to several of our leading people, who are very much satisfied with it. Were a similar letter sent from Dr. Jones and Dr. Fleming, it would be useful. It would be desirable that Mr. Chalmers should preach some day soon for Dr. Balfour, which might be managed by their exchanging pulpits. I hope that your father or you will write me soon what Mr. Chalmers' own sentiments are as to coming here." Dr. Balfour, who at this time was on a visit to a family in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, had gone to Kilmany to hear Mr. Chalmers preach, and having made his acquaintance, had already written to Mr. Parker, an influential member of the Town-Council :—" I am told, too, that Mr. Chalmers of Kilmany is talked of. I would not presume to give my opinion were he not more a stranger than the rest, and, as I am informed, spoken against by many. I never saw nor heard him till I came here, but report made him *great* and *good*. I went therefore to his parish-church with very high expectations indeed. They were not disappointed: his talents are of the first order, and now distinguished grace adorns them. He has long been known as a celebrated philo-

* For an interesting illustrative anecdote, see Appendix N.

sopher and scorner of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity; now, from conviction and with a warm heart, he preaches the faith which once he destroyed. I have had serious conversation with him, and am astonished at a man of such superior powers so modest and humble. He is indeed converted, and like a little child. I beg pardon for the freedom with which I have written, &c. &c. I am just quitting Mount Melville, and have not even time to read what I have written."

Dr. Jones of Edinburgh, who was visiting some friends in Fifeshire a week or two after Dr. Balfour had returned to Glasgow, stole his way unnoticed one Sabbath forenoon into Kilmany church, and having ensconced himself in a nook of the gallery stair, would have escaped observation, had not the politeness of an observing farmer dragged him reluctantly from his hiding-place. But his object was gained; he heard Mr. Chalmers preach one of his ordinary discourses* to his parishioners, and spent afterwards a few delightful days with him at the manse. On reaching Burntisland, on his way home, a letter from Mr. Robert Tennent was handed to him, which drew forth a reply, in which we scarcely know whether to admire most the quaint vivacity, the generous affection, or the fine and almost prophetic discrimination:—

"BURNTISLAND, *September* 27, 1814.

"DEAR SIR,—Your letter of the 20th, requesting my opinion with respect to the character, ability, and fitness of Mr. Chalmers to supply the vacant church of Glasgow, owing to my having wandered from place to place for this fortnight past, I have received only yesterday, which will explain the cause of my not having answered it.

"Of the character of Mr. C. there is and can be but one opi-

* The sermon which Dr. Jones heard on this occasion was from the text, Jer. vi. 14,—"They have healed also the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly, saying, Peace, peace, when there is no peace."—See *Works*, vol. viii. p. 332.

nion by all who know him. He possesses a most vigorous understanding, a sound judgment, richly furnished and governed by divine truth; his sentiments are those which are usually called orthodox; his piety is unfeigned and deep; he has all the zeal of a new convert, directed and restrained by wisdom and prudence; his integrity is vast and inflexible, which has formed a most delicate sense of honour, awake to every word and action in matters small as well as great; he is kind, benevolent, generous, candid, and fair as the summer day, and has a hand ever open to every good work; he is active, industrious, and a great economist of time; he is clothed with that Christian humility that makes him simple, modest, unobtrusive in word and deed; but an hour's private conversation with him in retirement is a feast of piety and genius not to be bought, and very rarely to be attained in the commerce of life and friendship by any means. Of the ability of Mr. Chalmers there is little reason to say more than to appeal to his works, which bring forward a man of no ordinary stature in literature and science, politics and divinity, which show a giant's mind, able to grasp and manage what is out of ordinary reach. In the pulpit his language is provincial and his manner unpolished; but there is a novelty and loftiness of thought, a sublimity of sentiment, a brilliance of imagination, a strength and point of expression, a power of eloquence, that not merely arrests, but lifts up and bears away the attention wheresoever he wills. Of the fitness of Mr. Chalmers to supply the vacant church in Glasgow it is unnecessary to say a word. If the congregation of the Tron Church would wish for a man who would have the most earnest desire to promote their spiritual and eternal welfare—if they would wish for a man whose talents would do them and all Glasgow honour, I know of no man so capable of gratifying their wishes as Mr. Chalmers.

"I am aware, Sir, that you may think what I have written

proceeds from the extravagance of friendship and partiality. That I am the friend of Mr. Chalmers is to me a matter of exultation; that I should be partial to such a man is my undoubted duty; but that I have said one word more than I believe to be true, or that I have in the least exaggerated in anything I have written, I am not conscious, and can with confidence refer you to any fair man that may know him. I have written what I have written from no very strong desire that he should go to Glasgow, but because I think truth required, when I was requested to write, that I should say what I have said. The evidently merited and deservedly growing fame of Mr. Chalmers will undoubtedly make him desirable for every situation where is scope for supereminent talents, for uncommon genius, and solid piety.—I am, Sir,

T. S JONES."*

In the meantime, Mr. Pitcairn had written to Mr. Chalmers, suggesting, that as he had never preached in Glasgow, he should make an early appearance in some pulpit, either in that city or in Edinburgh, in order to afford to the members of the Council or of the Tron Church congregation who desired it, an opportunity of hearing him. This suggestion was at once and decisively set aside. Nor was Mr. Tennent more successful in his endeavour to obtain beforehand from Mr. Chalmers some expression of his intention as to the acceptance of the presentation.

"GLASGOW, *November* 17, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It was my intention to have written you before this, but the uncertain state of matters, in relation to our prospects of success, prevented me. Since I had the pleasure of seeing you, we have had a very hard battle to fight; what

* For an interesting sketch of Dr. Jones, kindly furnished by Robert Paul, Esq., see Appendix O.

with the Duke of Montrose, Sir Islay Campbell, the College Interest, and the late and present Provost against us, we have had our hands quite full, and had to put forth all our might; but now that a fair prospect of success opens upon us, I think it proper to put you in possession of the information you required, and which I promised to obtain. Dr. Balfour, upon whom I waited for that purpose, and to whom I communicated the substance of your inquiries, desires me to say, that it is his opinion you can easily manage to preserve inviolate four-fifths of your days till one o'clock;—that, as to going into company, it is quite optional, and may be declined by you without giving offence. * * * Your friends—among whom the most active are Bailie Newbigging, Mr. Dennistoun, Mr. J. Wood, and the gentlemen* you saw at Perth—consider themselves certain of carrying their point, having eighteen (if no one flinch) out of thirty-one votes, and the only matter about which they are anxious is the state of your mind respecting the acceptance of the presentation. Upon this subject I hope you will enable me to give them that satisfaction they look for, and which (pardon me if the language is too strong) their hard and long-continued exertions merit. If ever there was a call in which the finger of Providence could be more distinctly observed than in another, *this* is that call.

"The persons who proposed you were connected neither with you nor your friends; it was your character which pointed you out to them. Your own relations† did not stir in the business till your friends had acquired both numbers and respectability; and the only object which animated your supporters was the ardent desire of bringing into Glasgow a minister who would preach the doctrines of the gospel in their native energy and simplicity. The congregation, to the number of 140 heads of

* Messrs. Heywood, Richardson, Roger, and Hood.

† Mr. John and Mr. Walter Wood, merchants in Glasgow.

families and 70 individuals, have petitioned the Magistrates and Council on your behalf, and eight out of ten who compose the Session, have subscribed that petition.* No undue influence, no bribery or corruption, has been practised by your friends, but * * * I have only further to remark, that in Glasgow you will have an opportunity of extending your usefulness to its utmost stretch, and have the advantage of ministering among a people whose previous high opinion of your character and talents will dispose them to listen with attention and respect to whatever you may advance. I hope you will excuse this hurried letter. Do me the favour to let me hear from you as early as possible, and believe me, my dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

ROBERT TENNENT, Jun."

"KILMANY MANSE, *November* 21, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 17th, I only received yesterday. The gentlemen who have so kindly and so perseveringly supported me in this business merit everything from my hand that is consistent with principle. I am by no means insensible to the weight of discouragement which their uncertainty as to my acceptance of the call must hang upon their exertions; and I am sure that they must have looked upon my adherence to the ground which I set out with as a piece of very proud and unreasonable obstinacy. My situation is a peculiar one. It is new to me; and I have to crave your indulgence while I bring forward the following remarks upon it.

"When I first heard of the Glasgow business, I resolved not to help it on by any step or declaration of mine. This much I consider as due to people whom I am attached to. This has a tendency to restrain my supporters in Glasgow; but so much the better for Kilmany—and I am pleased to do this piece of

* The most active promoters of this petition, which made a strong impression upon the minds of the Council, were Mr. Michael Muirhead, Mr. William Collins, Mr. John Urquhart, and Mr. John Smith.

justice to my kind and simple and affectionate neighbours. If in spite of this reserve, the Town-Council of Glasgow shall call me, I will take it up, and think of it, and pray over it, and view it in a far more impressive light than if any interference of mine had contributed the weight of a feather to such a result. To fetter myself with a promise previous to my appointment, compels me to accept of it; and upon what principle?—upon a principle of obligation to man. To keep myself uncommitted, is to leave room for the only principle upon which a call should be obeyed—the commitment of the cause to God, the openings of whose providence we are bound to pay respect to, and the good of whose Church should be our paramount consideration. But, you may think, cannot this commitment be made now? No; I will not consult God about my conduct in a particular situation, till He brings me into that situation. I will not decide upon my acceptance of any appointment till the appointment is before me, for then and not till then will the reasons for and against have fully developed themselves. Suppose I had made a declaration in favour of Glasgow a month ago, I should have done so upon a partial view of the merits of the case; for I should have done so in the absence of a most earnest and affectionate petition presented to me by a parish who have taken the alarm, and who, when they tell me of their fears because they are of so little consequence in comparison of Glasgow, only bring down from me a greater degree of tenderness upon them. Or, suppose I had declared against Glasgow a week ago, I would have done so upon a partial view of the case; for I would have done so in the absence of your impressive letter, and of all the important information contained in it. Or, finally, should I declare either for or against Glasgow at this moment, I should still do it upon a partial view; for I should do it in the absence of a letter from Dr. Balfour, which you give me reason to expect will be forthcoming upon

the official decision of the matter, and in which I look for the advice of a man venerated by me as a Christian father; and I should do it in the absence of all that information which I look for from a personal visit to Glasgow *after* my official appointment.

"You speak of the finger of Providence being observable in this call, and state some circumstances in proof of this; but the most impressive circumstance of all, I think, is the gaining a majority in the face of that discouragement which my silence and backwardness threw upon you. This gives a peculiar character of disinterested zeal to the whole proceeding, and I will do nothing at this time to destroy it. Had I said that the appointment would be personally agreeable to me, I would have conceived the support of my relations to be founded on a far less honourable principle than I am now entitled to ascribe it to. As it is, their support has been more creditable to them, and more gratifying to me. Such are the happy effects of my keeping myself quite aloof and unfettered in this affair; and I trust you will concede to me the right of bringing a free and uncommitted mind to this matter when it is brought to a final determination. I am quite sensible, at the same time, of what you say respecting the support I have experienced, resting mainly on friends who at the time were utterly unknown to me.

"I wish to make the question of Glasgow or Kilmany altogether a question of duty and usefulness. I am willing to set it upon this principle; but in so doing, I must shake myself loose of all the delicacies and of all the tendernesses which can be mustered up on either side of the question. Glasgow is a gainer, I believe, by this; for, though I should not suffer my gratitude to my supporters there to restrain me from refusing it, should I see cause—this is surely more than made up by my saying, that should I see other causes, I will not be re-

strained from accepting it by all my affection for a people whom I love, and a neighbourhood I should be glad to grow old in.

"The secular employment laid upon your clergy to the degree mentioned by you, will not restrain me from accepting it. But I will not oblige myself to any portion of such employment, however small. I may find it prudent to take a share; but in its least degree, I count it a corrupt encroachment on the time and occupations of a minister: see Acts vi. 4. And I shall only add, that I know of instances where a clergyman has been called from the country to town for his talent at preaching; and when he got there, they so belaboured him with the drudgery of their institutions, that they smothered and extinguished the very talent for which they had adopted him. The purity and independence of the clerical office are not sufficiently respected in great towns. He comes among them a clergyman, and they make a mere churchwarden of him. I have much to say upon this subject; and I do not despair, if we shall have the felicity of living together, of obtaining your concurrence in this sentiment. It shall be my unceasing endeavour to get all this work shifted upon the laymen; and did I not hope to succeed in some measure, I would be induced to set my face against the whole arrangement at this moment. I shall only say of my own dear parishioners, that they have expressed their value for me on no other ground than pure ministerial services; and it is hard to leave such a people for another, who may not be satisfied unless I add to my own proper work a labour which does not belong to me.

"Give my friendliest remembrance to Messrs. Heywood, Richardson, Roger, and Hood. I am truly obliged to you for the great trouble and very important share you have taken in this matter.* I will at all times be happy to hear from you.

* Mr. Chalmers' attachment to Mr. Tennent was peculiarly strong, and he deeply lamented his death, which took place a few years after Mr. Chalmers' settlement in Glasgow.

I pray that God may overrule and direct in this weighty affair. —Believe me, with the truest regard and esteem, to be, yours very sincerely, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"Robert Tennent, junior, Esq."

"KILMANY MANSE, *November* 22, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Since my letter of yesterday, (which I fear will not reach you before you get this,) I have to inform you that I took the liberty of showing your letter to the most active and intelligent promoter of the petition* taken notice of in my other letter. He had been bethinking himself a good deal of the subject before, and on reading yours he tells me that he cannot think of urging the prayer of that petition any longer, and is much impressed with the manly and disinterested stand which my supporters in Glasgow have made against such powerful opposition as you have met with. This is to me a very important circumstance, and worthy of being transmitted to you. The longer I wait I am the more satisfied with having been kept free of all engagements upon this subject, and having committed myself to the progress of events. In the one case I would have come in among you on the restraint of a hasty promise—in the other I bring a mind at liberty to decide on every circumstance as it occurs; and how delightful if, up to the final step of this affair, principle shall have been left to free and unfettered operation. Ah! my dear Sir, there is nothing like leaving room to the evolutions of Providence in these matters, and it is wrong to anticipate them. If you do not disapprove of it, I shall show yours, after cutting away the single line about bribery, to some of the chief people in my parish. * * * I have to repeat my kindest compliments to your fellow-travellers.—I am, my dear Sir, yours with much regard, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"Robert Tennent, junior, Esq"

* Mr Robert Edie.

Notwithstanding the disadvantage to which they were thus exposed, and in spite of the most powerful opposition, the unprecedented exertions of those zealous Christian laymen, who desired to secure for themselves and their fellow-citizens an effective evangelical ministry, had prospered so far, that before the day of election arrived, it was known at Kilmany that Mr. Chalmers' appointment was almost certain. In prospect of such an issue, he sat down in the retirement of his study, and for his own private guidance, thus balanced the arguments on either side :—

GLASGOW.

1. Numbers. Cities had always a preference in the first ages of the Church

2. An unsolicited call. I gave no encouragement while the thing was going on, on the principle of leaving it to Providence. When Providence has come forward with such a result, am I to be indifferent to it?

3. The blow which my refusal would give to the Christian party in Glasgow.

4. A warm Christian society to revive the deadness and barrenness of my own soul.

5. Stimulus to exertion and study.

6. Might do much good to my people here during the interval till my departure. The fact that Mr. Tait's people have gained since his leaving them is an important one.

7. A more congenial field—people more intellectual—feel the excitement which lies in the neighbourhood of a university.—(But, O my God, keep me from being tempted from the simplicity that is in Christ. May I never forget that the gospel is preached to the poor.) The societies which are in operation for the general interests of Christianity afford also a very congenial exercise of usefulness.

O my God, guide by Thy wisdom;

KILMANY.

1 Present situation; but moving from place to place was the general practice of the first preachers.

2. Earnest petition. But one argument of the petition was the good I did by my school. Now, previous to that petition the children had very much ceased to come; and even after, there were only the children of ten families whose heads had signed that petition that attended.

3. Undivided time for study. But I am told that two hours a day would do the secular business of Glasgow. And, in point of fact, I have languished out many hours here for the want of stimulus. Pardon me, O God, and may a sense of Thy glory stimulate me in all time coming.

4. Should I stay here, the call might give an impulse both to me and my people, though No. 2 militates against the chance of the latter impulse.

O my God, be with my people. May love to them and their souls mingle in all my deliberations. I feel my want of compassion for the souls of men. Give me to grow, O Lord, in the benevolence of faith. May I resemble Christ in His pity for souls.

Should I go to Glasgow, I desire to give

and should I go to Glasgow, may I not forget the earnest petition I now offer for entire devotedness to the interest of Christ's kingdom. Extinguish all vanity. May neither the praise of man nor the fear of man prove a snare to me. O for a thorough establishment in Christ, for more ability as a minister of His testament May I cultivate every opportunity of usefulness. May I grow in love to souls. May my delight be with the sons of men as an instrument in Thy hand for their good. Hear me, hear me, Almighty Father! and committing this work to Thee, do Thou, O Lord, establish my thoughts, for Christ's sake.—Amen

a single and entire energy to my people here while I labour amongst them. O Lord, direct me to such plans as Thou wilt bless for the conversion and building up of many souls. May all my things be done with charity. Relieve me from the ignoble feeling of shame because of the testimony of Christ. Thy blessing and Thy Spirit, O Lord, be on this parish and neighbourhood. O that a day of power and of refreshing were to come amongst them. May there be no room to receive it; may it flow over into other parishes. I implore Thy Spirit in behalf of this county. O may its ministers be turned to the Lord. O send them pastors according to Thine own heart. I again pray for the increase of Christ's flock among my own people. Stay not Thine arm, O God; make it bare. Come forth in the might of Thy all-subduing Spirit, and reveal Christ in many hearts, for His sake.—Amen.

The election took place on the 25th of November. An express from Glasgow, which arrived at Kilmany on the evening of the following day, informed Mr. Chalmers of the result, and the next post from Edinburgh brought the following letter from Dr. Jones :—

"EDINBURGH, *Saturday, November* 26, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have this instant received the accounts from Glasgow that the battle, the great battle, has been fought, and the victory won. For Chalmers, fifteen; for M'Farlan,* ten; for Maclean, four; and one *non liquet*. Heaven and earth, and all the principalities and powers in high places, have been moved;—from the great officers of State at St. James', and the Court of aldermen in King Street, and the Crown lawyers in Edinburgh, down to the little female piets, who were

* The Rev. Dr. M'Farlan, then of Drymen.

taught to squall what they did not understand, 'No fanatics! No Balfourites! Rationalists for ever!' No small stir, I'll assure you, has been in that city, and no such stir has been there since the days of John Knox, it is said, about the choice of a minister. And, oh! *miserabile dictu*, tell it not in St. Andrews! the fanatics have prevailed, and prevailed against one of the most numerous and well appointed armies which ever took the field on such an occasion. The order of battle was this:—In the centre of the enemy was the Lord Provost, who commanded the main corps, and which being thought rather weak, as the centre of their opponents was very strong, they strengthened it with the London Guildhall allies, headed by Sir James Shaw. On the right was the Duke of Montrose and the heavy horse, and on the left the Lord Advocate and the light horse. In front were some clerical skirmishers, headed by Principal Dolt, who threw rockets and firebrands, and said, 'Much learning and religion has made Chalmers mad.' Much was expected from this weapon, but it was rendered quite useless by the opposing remark, 'That it came well from him, as it was notorious to every one that his head was not in the least danger.' These being driven in, confident in their strength, the main body of the opponents came down in full force, made one charge, and went right through the enemy, and so completely defeated them, that in half an hour not two of them were to be seen together; and no sooner had the news reached the town on the afternoon of Friday the 25th of November, than all the town was in an uproar of joy, says my informant, 'Kirkmen, Burghers, Antiburghers, Independents, and Baptists, all joining in one shout of exultation.' The news has had little less effect, I assure you, in this city. Every one meets or runs to his friend, through a most heavy rain, to say, "Oh! have you heard the good news, Mr. Chalmers is elected to the Tron Kirk of Glasgow!'

"Having indulged in a little levity at the expense of the adversary, I will be serious.

"I sincerely congratulate you, my dear Sir, on your election to Glasgow, an event in which you have had no concern, but, as became you, were completely passive. But now matters have taken another shape, and present another front. There is, I think there can be, but one opinion, that the matter is from God, and the call, in course of the progress of the event, shows it to be from Heaven, and therefore you have nothing to do but thankfully to accept. A great and effectual door is opened to you to publish the glad tidings of peace; it only remains that you enter in. May you do so in all the fulness of the gospel of our Lord, and long, very long, may you be useful, very useful, and very happy. The only drawback is the little prospect of a good successor to Kilmany; but this is completely counterbalanced, or rather, greatly outweighed by the similar circumstances at Glasgow, should you not accept; but the not accepting, I think, now ought not once to be thought of.

"Shall we see you in town this winter? Will you make me glad by coming to my house and pulpit? The Glasgow folks want you before their sacrament in April. Sad work went on, it seems, the last week or two, * * * Robert Tennent and his brother have been indefatigable. Best compliments to Mrs. C. and Ann, and I am affectionately and respectfully, your friend and brother, T. S. JONES."

Both before and after his election, letters regarding his proposed translation poured in upon Mr. Chalmers. "I got," he wrote to Anstruther, "about forty letters from various quarters on the subject of Glasgow. I think the perusal of them would afford both entertainment and satisfaction to you and my father. Had I a right opportunity, I would willingly send them to you, on condition of their being safely returned to me.

They will lay before my father the reasons which made me conceive it my duty to obey an appointment I had no hand in." The raciest of all these forty letters took a very different view of the matter from that given in the communications of Dr. Love and Dr. Balfour, Dr. Fleming and Dr. Jones. It came from his eldest brother James, of whom Mr. Chalmers always spoke as the cleverest of his family, and who had long used towards him the privilege which a seniority of many years bestowed.

"LONDON, *November* 26, 1814.

"DEAR THOMAS,—I am much concerned to learn that the allurements of the perishable mammon are likely soon to have an effect upon you, and make you resign all your earthly comforts and domestic quiet; but I still hope that you will look before you leap, and think better of the business before you accept of any nonsense that may be offered. A situation of an additional £100 a year may perhaps be held out to you, but you should take into the account how far that situation may expose you to expenses exceeding the addition of income which it renders, what company and connexions it may lead you into, how far it may encroach upon the time which you have hitherto allotted for study, or devoted to the pleasures and endearments of domestic life, what effect the sudden change from a quiet country life to the din and bustle of the great city is likely to have upon you, and how far you think you can relish the formal and empty ceremonious *fal lal* of refinement when compared to the honest but humble society to which you have been accustomed at Kilmany. Besides, Kilmany is the place where you began your career. The Rev. Mr. Chalmers of Kilmany is known; his fame is far spread, his character is respected, his reputation established, and his abilities acknowledged and admired. But the Rev. Mr. Chalmers of Glasgow is another person; he has to begin the world afresh; and there is no doubt

but he will be considered in the literary as well as religious world as a very different man from his Reverence of Kilmany. Shining abilities are naturally looked for and expected to be met with at the seat of learning, and of course are not estimated so highly as when they proceed from humble life. Think of all these things, and consider also how greatly it will add to your character, that instance of self-denial which your refusal of the offer will not fail to impress on the minds of all who know you and have heard of you. Keep fast by what you have got, and be contented still to remain the minister of Kilmany, and leave Glasgow to those hunters after the world and vainglory who may be disposed to throw themselves in its way. Never you mind the call of the Lord, as it is called, but think of * * * Excuse all I have said on this subject. I have no other view than your own happiness; for I am convinced that if you do accept of this offer, you sacrifice your comfort and happiness for ever. You will have no time for study; you will be deprived of all the comforts of a home, for you will be continually carried down a current of formal visits and complimentary calls, and invitations, and *botherations* of all sorts. Let Zachariah Boyd look somewhere else for an interpreter of his works, and not insult Kilmany with any such application. I hope to hear from you before long, and I trust your letter will inform me that you have declined the offer, both on your own account, and on account of the Anstruther folks, who would be much hurt at your leaving the neighbourhood. I beg you to write soon, and I remain, dear Thomas, your affectionate brother, JAMES CHALMERS."

"KILMANY MANSE, *Dec.* 21, 1814.

"MY DEAR JAMES,—I had not resolved on an acceptance at the time of your letter's arrival, and yet, in spite of it, I have resolved to go to Glasgow. Your letter, however, will not be

without its use. My wife and I have agreed to take it along with us, and to consult it occasionally. We trust we are prepared for all the invasions upon our peace and independence, which you have described with so vigorous a hand ; and which, if submitted to, we are quite sensible would be a source of annoyance and misery to us all our days. Be assured, that my eyes are quite open to this source of vexation, and my feelings quite alive to all the bitterness of it. There is not one sentiment I join with you more cordially in, than an utter detestation of all the heartless splendour and ceremony of fashionable life; and I trust that my wife will never suffer herself to be so far seduced by the example of female acquaintances and advisers and managers, as to step down from the dignified simplicity of a minister's fireside, and mingle in all the extravagances of parties and second courses, and splendid drawing-rooms, and the whole tribe of similar abominations.

" Thus far can we go along with one another, but, I am afraid, no further. Glasgow is not a better situation in point of emolument. It is greatly more laborious ; and I will have to maintain a constant struggle with the difficulties you insist upon. Yet I think it my duty to go ; but were I to unfold all the motives to you, I fear, from the strain of your two last letters, that you would positively not understand me. I do not pretend any call of Providence in the shape of a vision or a voice ; yet surely, if Providence overrule all events—if the appointment in question is an event I had no hand in—if, during the whole progress of the steps which led to it, I cautiously abstained from giving any encouragement to the electors—would not tell them whether I would take it or turn from it, but left it a question quite undecided till Providence brought it to my door ; then, if there is no intimation of the will of Providence here, it must follow either that events afford no interpretation of that will, or (what, I fear, falls in with the practical Atheism

of many) God has no share in the matter at all; He is deposed from His sovereignty, and the solemn assertion, that not a sparrow falleth to the ground without His appointment, is a nullity and a falsehood. I do not say that this argument should supersede others, but it ought to have a place and a reality in every Christian deliberation.

"Compliments to all. Mrs. C. joins in them. Write me soon. —Yours, with much regard, THOMAS CHALMERS."

The two chief obstacles to Mr. Chalmers' removal from Kilmany were his fears as to the amount of extra and unprofessional labour which was laid upon the clergymen of Glasgow, and his regrets at leaving a people and neighbourhood to which he was very tenderly attached. An explanatory letter from Dr. Balfour helped to remove the one; it cost acute and long-continued suffering to remove the other. Looking to the hills which bounded his peaceful valley, and waving his staff to them as if in mournful farewell, he said to a friend who was walking by his side, "Ah, my dear sir, my heart is wedded to these hills!" Coming back to his old parish, more than twenty years after he had left it, he exclaimed, "Oh! there was more tearing of the heart-strings at leaving the valley of Kilmany than at leaving all my great parish at Glasgow." But the following brief entries in his Journal tell most impressively what a wrench to his affections this removal gave:—

"*November* 26*th*.—Got this night intimation of my election to Glasgow, and feel myself established in my ideas respecting it.

"*November* 30*th*.—Received a most handsome letter from Mr. Gillespie, and it has thrown me into a flood of tenderness.

"*December* 2*d*.—Still confined. My tenderness has risen to all the agony of a passion.

"*December 3d.*—Mr. Duncan came from Dundee, and was of great use to me.*

"*Sunday, December 4th.*—Preached to my people on my removal.

"*December 5th.*—I have sent off some queries, previous to my final answer.

"*December 6th.*—I am in great heaviness.

"*December 8th.*—I am much absorbed.

"*December 9th.*—In great suspense about not getting my answer from Glasgow.

"*December 10th.*—Got a satisfying answer from Dr. Balfour, and have sent off my letter of concurrence to the Glasgow Magistrates.

"*December 14th.*—Visited at Rathillet. In great heaviness about leaving my parish. Received a very kind letter from Lord Leven.

"*December 15th.*—Visited at ——. Called at Lochmalony.—O that this disruption from all present attachments could be converted to a lesson of sitting loosely to the things of time.

"*December 30th.*—Have received a most cordial letter from the Session of the Tron Church, Glasgow.—O God, keep me from vanity.

"*January 1st*, 1815.—Preached as usual to a very crowded auditory. I am not sufficiently carried out to a compassion for the souls of men.—Teach and enable me, O Lord, to minister that which may be to the use of edifying. O direct me powerfully to the good of my parish.

"*Sunday, January 8th.*—Preached as usual. Let me hence-

* "I can never forget the letter which he wrote me, on one of these occasions, inviting me to come over to Kilmany, in order that, when he was like to be overcome, he might be 'supported by the cold immobility of my countenance.'"—*Letter from Professor Duncan.*

forth cultivate it as a high point of duty to prepare for Kilmany, and not for Glasgow, and give my time and my prayer to the present occasion.

"*January* 13*th*.—Had diets of visitation at Hawkhill and East Kinneir. My tenderness opens afresh at this last great parochial exercise of duty.

"*January* 15*th*.—Began to throw off a supplementary address to my regular sermons—a practice which I mean to persevere in every Saturday evening, as I find that upon the urgency of such an occasion I am often more impressive in my calls upon the conscience.

"*May* 12*th*.—Had a visitation at Starbank and Star. Still in great tenderness, but better and more cheerful at night.—O God, be Thou my stay and my rest, and my continual habitation. I look at Glasgow as a wilderness.—O my God, be not Thou a wilderness unto me.

"*May* 13*th*.—Finished off my girls' school. God supports me wondrously. Wrote at my lecture. A round of visits to the westward.

"*Sunday, May* 14*th*.—Preached as usual. A great crowd.—O my God, sustain me against tenderness. Bless my ministrations. Advance the power and life of religion in my own heart.

"*May* 27*th*.—Have been seized with a most petrifying chill on Mr. M. saying that my duty is to keep off from Kilmany, and give myself entirely to my new parish. This would be an awful surrender indeed of my attachment; but, O God, turn me from self to Thee at all times."

For some Sabbaths previous to the departure from Kilmany, the attendance at church was so numerous, that one of the large windows beside the pulpit was taken out, that Mr. Chalmers might address at once the in-door and out-door congregation.

The great crowd of strangers which had assembled deprived, to some extent, his closing Sabbath (July 9, 1815) of the character which he would have liked it so much to wear—that of a parting of affectionate friends. There were few, however, even among the strangers, who did not share in the emotions of the occasion, and the hearts of his own people were dissolved in tenderness, as these farewell words fell upon their ear:—

"Choose Christ, then, my brethren, choose Him as the Captain of your salvation. Let Him enter into your hearts by faith, and let Him dwell continually there. Cultivate a daily intercourse and a growing acquaintance with Him. Oh, you are in safe company, indeed, when your fellowship is with Him! The shield of His protecting mediatorship is ever between you and the justice of God; and out of His fulness there goeth a constant stream, to nourish, and to animate, and to strengthen every believer. Why should the shifting of human instruments so oppress and so discourage you, when He is your willing friend; when He is ever present, and is at all times in readiness; when He, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, is to be met with in every place; and while His disciples here, giving way to the power of sight, are sorrowful, and in great heaviness, because they are to move at a distance from one another, He, my brethren, He has His eye upon all neighbourhoods and all countries, and will at length gather His disciples into one eternal family! With such a Master, let us quit ourselves like men. With the magnificence of eternity before us, let time, with all its fluctuations, dwindle into its own littleness. If God is pleased to spare me, I trust I shall often meet with you in person, even on this side of the grave; but if not, let us often meet in prayer at the mercy-seat of God. While we occupy different places on earth, let our mutual intercessions for each other go to one place in heaven. Let the Saviour put our sup-

plications into one censer; and be assured, my brethren, that after the dear and the much loved scenery of this peaceful vale has disappeared from my eye, the people who live in it shall retain a warm and an ever-during place in my memory; —and this mortal body must be stretched on the bed of death, ere the heart which now animates it can resign its exercise of longing after you, and praying for you that you may so receive Christ Jesus, and so walk in Him, and so hold fast the things you have gotten, and so prove that the labour I have had amongst you has not been in vain, that when the sound of the last trumpet awakens us, these eyes, which are now bathed in tears, may open upon a scene of eternal blessedness, and we, my brethren, whom the providence of God has withdrawn for a little while from one another, may on that day be found side by side at the right hand of the everlasting throne."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.—P. 13.

A volume of autograph letters, addressed to James Brown, LL.D., has been put into my hands by his widow, presenting a most impressive memorial of the affectionate and enduring regard in which he was held by some of the most eminent of his contemporaries. The following letter from Dr. Leyden shows that though he had resided but a single session at St. Andrews, his brief personal acquaintance with Dr. Brown had ripened into a sincere friendship :—

"Edinburgh, *September* 24, 1798.

"My Dear Friend,—I take the opportunity of Mr. Campbell's visit to Glasgow to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 17th instant. A very business-like introduction, forsooth, in compensation for the pleasure which yours afforded. Knowing your aversion to epistolation in general, I set the greater value on this instance of your friendship. Indeed, my dear Sir, your acquaintance and that of Dr. Hunter are almost the only circumstances, during my residence in St. Andrews, upon which I look back with any degree of satisfaction. To be sure there was a moderately good library in St. Andrews—that is to say, containing several books which I had not seen ; but no company worth the mentioning for a musing animal that loved cards no better than a monkey, and dancing than an elephant taught to figure away upon a hot floor. * * * It is not, therefore, to be supposed, that I am extremely anxious, even in fancy, to transport myself to St. Andrews from the charming coterie of true hearts and sound heads which, almost in spite of myself, attaches me to Edinburgh, and where one numbers Erskine, Reddie, Brown and family, Dr. Anderson, Thomson the poet,

and his *cara sposa*, &c. &c. * * * Your account of the state of your health gives me much uneasiness, as well as all the fraternity ; but chagrin —that is the word—I wish no person, especially you, were chagrined at any thing,—I do believe this self-same chagrin aggravates the effect of your disorder upon your mind. We are convinced that if you were able to teach the class this winter, you would finish the strife of tongues for ever, in spite of every malicious suggestion ; but this depends on the state of your health, which must be attended to. If you can come to Edinburgh, it will be very agreeable to many of us ; and I have no doubt that the society of persons attached to you merely for your worth would have no bad effect in alleviating that wounded sensibility which you will never convince me does not unfrequently affect your conduct.

"Compliments from Brown, Brougham, Erskine, and Reddie, who regrets he did not see you again.—I am, dear Sir, ever yours, JOHN LEYDEN."

Sir James Ivory and Sir John Leslie were fellow-students with Dr. Brown at St. Andrews, and maintained a correspondence with him through life. The following letters from the former of these two distinguished men will not be read without regret that talent so rare as his should not have met with earlier and more appropriate public notice and reward :—

"GREAT MARLOW, *June* 1, 1807.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I feel highly flattered and indebted for your friendship ; and it has made the greater impression on me, that, excepting one or two instances, I have not found the same honourable and liberal conduct in others, either on this or on any former occasion. When I wrote you last, I was very sanguine in my hopes of succeeding Mr. Vilant ; but these hopes have all vanished with the change of Ministers. I wrote you that I had been in London, and had had interviews both with Mr. Windham and Lord Lauderdale ; and if Lord Spencer had not been ill, I should have been introduced to him too. I had seen Mr. Windham before, having once met him at a club that meets at the Crown and Anchor in London ; this was about a year before he was Minister. He is tolerably versed in mathematics and likes to converse on such subjects. I was assured of his support both from his behaviour to myself and by a private note of his. I was introduced to Lord Lauderdale by that very Mr. Allen, who lives with Lord Holland, whom you mention ; but I have no acquaintance with Mr. Allen. It was at the desire of Mr. Brougham that he carried me to Lord Lauderdale. At that interview, Mr. Allen being present, his Lordship read to me a note which he had just received from Lord

Spencer, in which Lord Spencer used these words—'That it was very probable that Mr. Ivory would be the successful candidate.' Lord Lauderdale then conversed about the state of the College, and of the manner in which vacancies in the gift of the College had been filled up. He inculcated the necessity of attending to merit in the candidates for vacancies, with the view of restoring the lost reputation and usefulness of the seminary. His Lordship concluded with desiring me to come up to town when the vacancy should take place, and he would then introduce me to Lord Spencer. Such were the foundations of my hopes when I wrote you last. When Lord Spencer went out of office, he returned my certificates. As I have no political interest to support an application, I am in doubt whether I shall apply or not.—I ever am very sincerely yours, &c., JAMES IVORY."

"LONDON, 1, *Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 1*st July* 1807.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is now a day or two since I have learned that the vacancy in your University is filled up by the appointment of Mr. Haldane. * * * Soon after my last letter to you, I thought it right, after due reflection, to make the same application to the present Ministers that I had formerly made to the last Ministers; but, as I had no hopes of success, I did not choose to trouble any of my friends, and therefore I sent my certificates, with a letter of application, to Lord Hawkesbury, by the post. In my letter I told his Lordship that I had applied to his predecessor in office, and I said that the flattering attention paid to my pretensions by Lord Spencer had encouraged me to make an application to himself. When the appointment is gazetted I shall have my certificates sent back to me.—Yours very sincerely, JAMES IVORY."

Out of more than one hundred letters, written during an interval of more than thirty years, I subjoin the following, bearing upon the earlier periods of Sir John Leslie's chequered career:—

"EDINBURGH, 21*st February*, 1788.

"DEAR JAMES,—I received yours. I return you my hearty thanks for your good wishes. I long as eagerly for the Ides of March as ever did the Roman patriots. The time approaches, and I hope then to spend a day or two with you. The little *weaknesses*, the sweet *remembrances* of friendship, will, I hope, make a deep impression on my mind, which neither distance of time or of place efface. These connect and endear the ties of society, and diffuse some scattered rays to enliven the chequered scene of human life. I consider myself as a citizen of the world, *Ubi libertas, ibi Patria.*

I go to a new country, where youthful nature sports in her productions, and pours forth everything that can contribute to the utility or pleasure of man. There the loved *Equality*—there the age of the poets. But is my friend to be left behind? Is there not a field of ambition beyond the Atlantic?—Dear James, I am, ever yours affectionately, Jo. LESLIE."

"RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, *January* 11, 1789.

"MY DEAR JAMES,—My stay in the country has been too short for my giving any account of it. At my first arrival I was extremely struck with the peculiarities, and had I written you at that time, my letter would have been full of remarks. The novelty is now over, and I am inclined to make cool reflections. I shall therefore defer giving an account till the spring or summer. I must confess that Virginia has fallen below my expectations. I reckon Mr. Randolph's the best family, and Tuckahoe the best land. My republican notions are now completely sobered. I reckon the constitution of Great Britain as the most noble that can be framed. If any person be discontented at home, let him be acquainted with other countries. I am afraid my schemes in America will not succeed. I would wish to return to the bosom of my country, after my peregrinations. At present I am set loose in the sea of adventure, but I long to devote my days to science and philosophy.—I am, my dear friend, yours ever affectionately, Jo. LESLIE."

"LONDON, *February* 5, 1790.

"DEAR JAMES,—My heart warms when I reflect upon the scenes that are passed. This world, my dear friend, is full of toil and vexation. It amuses and deceives. You are surprised perhaps that I moralize. I have seen as much, I assure you, in the short time I have been here, as to create disgust. I found the scheme of lecturing too expensive for a place divided between business and pleasure. I have therefore relinquished it. Dr. Maskelyne offered to make me his assistant; and when I came to the resolution to accept of his offer, he found that his assistant had recovered his health. But I had more than *irresolution* to encounter. Lord Mountstewart applied to Dr. Kippis for a mathematical tutor for his son. I was strongly recommended; but the answer was an insult.—'He would have no *Scotchman*.' Such is the gratitude of the Bute family; thus is Scotland despised by her unworthy sons. Dr. Kippis was offended—I was exasperated. The English are not so illiberal. I am advised by several of my friends here to get into a family, and endeavour to get forward in the Church of England.—I am, dear James, ever yours affectionately,

Jo. LESLIE."

Anxious to preserve some biographical notice of Dr. Brown, I applied to Professor Duncan of St. Andrews, and have been favoured with the following communication :—

"St. Andrews, 11*th July*, 1849.

"My Dear Sir,—I shall now try to give you some account of Dr. James Brown. He was the son of a miller who resided in the village of Lochgelly on the river Orr in Fife, and received his earliest education at a country school. He afterwards removed to live with a relative also a miller on the river Eden near Cupar in Fife, where he attended the grammar-school, under a master of some eminence of the name of Gray. At St. Andrews he distinguished himself both in literature and science, and hence attracted the attention of Dr. Hunter, the celebrated Professor of Humanity, and of Mr. West, the distinguished assistant of Mr. Vilant, Professor of Mathematics. I have heard him say more than once, that the first thing which led him to *think* was the lectures of Dr. Hunter on the philosophy of grammar; and by the friendship of Mr. West, he was appointed successor to that gentleman as assistant to Professor Vilant. He held that situation for eleven years, and taught the mathematical classes with great ability, securing the respect and attachment of the students in a remarkable degree by the clearness and elegance of his expositions, and by the kindness of his manner. During the last six years that he officiated in the college, he was at the same time minister of Denino, a parish within four miles of St. Andrews, to which he had been presented by the College, the patrons. Denino being my native parish, where my father acted as Dr. Brown's elder, I had the pleasure and advantage of hearing Dr. Brown preach during a great part of the year. I admired his sermons exceedingly. They were, many of them, exceedingly eloquent. His facility of composition was extraordinary. It was his custom on the Sunday evening to look out his text for next Sunday, and make a few notes on the subjects, which were then in a great measure dismissed from his mind until Saturday next, when he sat down, and often wrote two sermons in the course of the Saturday and Saturday night before their delivery. Indeed, he often in four hours wrote a sermon which occupied half an hour in the delivery, and therefore he must literally have composed *currente calamo*, for it is only a ready writer who can transcribe in four hours a sermon of half an hour. But notwithstanding the extraordinary rapidity with which his sermons were written, there was scarcely an erasure or interlineation in the manuscript. This I had occasion to observe when Mrs. Brown sent me the manuscripts for perusal, after her husband's death

"On the death of Dr. Forrest, he became a candidate for the Chair of

Natural Philosophy at St. Andrews, in the gift of the United College, but was disappointed in consequence of the family influence of the Hill party, which was then very powerful. Within six months after this disappointment, he was successful in his application for the corresponding Chair at Glasgow, which was in the gift of that University, and which he contested with a no less formidable candidate than his friend John Leslie, afterwards Sir John Leslie. Unfortunately, however, his health gave way, and he was able to teach only one session, and even that very irregularly. This was the session 1796-97. Though of a large and strong make, he had not a strong nervous system, and he was not able to bear the transition from the bracing air of St. Andrews to the moist and relaxing atmosphere of Glasgow. He was unfortunate, too, in catching a cold at the commencement of his session; and the complaints of some of his colleagues, operating on a sensitive mind, increased his illness, and having dragged with difficulty through one session, he never had courage to resume his duties. He taught by assistants for three or four years, and then retired altogether, with a pension from the University of, I think, £170, which he drew for about thirty-five years, dying at the age of seventy-five. During that long period he amused himself by miscellaneous reading, and for some years was very much addicted to the study of botany. I am not aware that he ever published any thing either in science or literature. He was exceedingly fastidious in his taste, and had higher notions of what was great or fine, both in literature and science, than he was able to realize. But his taste was fine, and his imagination brilliant, and, if he had given them full scope, he would have far surpassed many authors of deserved celebrity. His powers of conversation were certainly uncommonly great, as Dr. Chalmers so forcibly states. Whether the subject was politics or literature, books or men, science or the ordinary topics of the day, the business of the empire or the occurrences of this little city, it assumed an air of importance, without the appearance of pomposity, which, upon recollection, still surprises me. What was said of some other notable, might be said with truth of him—'*Nil quod tetigit, non ornavit.*' It would be difficult to say in what the charm consisted. He did not deal in prosy dissertations, nor in long-winded anecdotes, for which he had even a dislike, and for which his rather deficient memory unfitted him; but everything was embellished by a fine fancy; and I must add that there was not wanting, on some subjects, a spice of satire. At the same time, I have my doubts whether he would have come out or attracted notice in large companies, where powers of a somewhat different kind are required. I never had an opportunity of seeing him in such situations. All his life he lived retired,

seen only by the few who called upon him in his retreat, and particularly by young men, in whom he always took a particular interest, and whom he was at much pains both to instruct and amuse. Lord Campbell, alluded to in this volume, was one of those who visited him, and was much delighted by his conversation. The last time I met Lord Campbell, about a year and a half ago, he spoke of Dr. Brown with strong feelings of gratitude, stating that it was intercourse with Dr. Brown which first excited in his mind aspirations after distinction.

"In looking over the preceding account, I think it contains everything worthy of notice concerning Dr. Brown. I might have said that, in addition to the relaxation of the nervous system which overtook him on his removal to Glasgow, he felt more than ever the inconvenience of an organic complaint under which he had laboured all his life. This was *hernia*, which particularly unfitted him for performing experiments; a kind of duty for which great demands were made at Glasgow, in consequence of the popular and experimental courses of his predecessor, and the popular institution which, on his deathbed, he had founded in opposition to the University. He spent the last twelve years of his life in Edinburgh. The rest of his life, from the date of his coming to College, was spent in St. Andrews, unless six or eight months in Glasgow, two summers while he was tutor in families, and a few months when he was schoolmaster on board a frigate. In one of these summers he was tutor to the late Earl of Home, at The Hirsel, in Berwickshire, and was asked to accompany him to the Continent, but declined on account of his prospects at St. Andrews.—I remain, my dear Sir, yours very truly, THOMAS DUNCAN."

APPENDIX B.—P. 39.

The following letter, addressed to Dr. James Brown, contains a very different account of the origin of the feud between Leyden and Campbell from that which Dr. Beattie has lately given to the world. As this version of the story is given upon Campbell's authority, it is but right that Leyden's version of it should not be suppressed:—

"EDINBURGH, *December* 28, 1799.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I have this moment received yours of the 22d with great pleasure, and really felt myself relieved from considerable anxiety, though I recollect the principle originally fixed of our correspondence, 'That each should write and reply as he pleased and how he pleased.' I affirm that I will always adhere to the condition 'of never believing evil of my friend till I have the whole statement from his own mouth.'

"With respect to Reviews, however, I must say that I have not written a single one since my sickness last spring. In the new London Review I have only written those of. 1st, Horne Tooke; 2d, Brown's Observations on Zoonomia; 3d, Smith's Discourses on the Clerical Character; 4th, Walker on Magnetism; 5th, Vallancey's Sanscrit History of Ireland; 6th, Epistle of Lady Grange. As I thought the character of my coadjutors contemptible, I very soon renounced all engagements with the editors.

"The 'Gleaners' designated 'L.' are my production,—very rapid, as you perceive; but I neither expect to derive fame nor profit from them, and solely undertook that department to prevent the introduction of a very rancorous, illiberal, and unjust review of the 'Pleasures of Hope.' Apropos of the 'Pleasures of Hope,' we (*i.e.*, Drs. Anderson, Brown, &c., and myself) have had a very serious quarrel with the author, which introduces likewise the history of the 'Clerical Review.' Mr. Campbell had been accustomed, without our knowledge, to visit and associate with various young men of infidel principles, which abound, as I understand, in Glasgow. Mr. W——, a printer here, whose character you probably know, if a man totally devoid of character can be said to have any character at all, like another Hercules, resolved to destroy the hydra of superstition, *i.e.*, religion, and for this purpose engaged his Atheistic associates in the scheme of the 'Clerical Review.' In this vile publication, most unfortunately, Mr. Campbell was engaged; and the rascal W—— dexterously took advantage of *his* (Campbell's) connection with us, to insinuate all over the town that Dr. Anderson was the conductor, and his friends, especially myself, the authors. The ministers admitted all this very currently. We, who had always believed it to be a scheme of the enthusiasts, and expressed our contempt of it, and declared that we would destroy it if no others would, were surprised to hear that we were ourselves the chief objects of suspicion. I waited on Dr. Finlayson in no very complaisant mood, and with some acrimony evinced that we had no connection with it. Dr. Anderson and myself were mentioned before the Presbytery as the authors, but Dr. Finlayson opposed the supposition. Meanwhile the ministers got upon the right scent, and then the scoundrel W—— came forward and delivered up his associates, among whom was Mr. Robertson of one of our Chapels of Ease, who has a chance to suffer most by the exhibition. We all resented indignantly the conduct of Campbell; he attempted to explain away, but I cannot say that he has succeeded entirely to my satisfaction. But *my only concern* in the 'Clerical Review' was in the discovery of the authors. —I shall write you very soon, and remain yours ever sincerely,

J. Leyden."

Dr. Irving, to whom I have been much indebted in the preparation of this volume, remarks on the preceding letter :—

" I have a strong impression that Leyden's account of his misunderstanding with Campbell is substantially correct ; it corresponds with the account which I received when the facts were recent. As to his propagating a report that his poetical friend intended to commit suicide, I never heard the slightest surmise before the publication of Dr. Beattie's work.*

" The editor of the ' Clerical Review' was Andrew Oswald, respecting whom Campbell makes a friendly enquiry in one of his printed letters. He was employed in the office of a writer to the signet, but was more devoted to literature than to law, nor was he finally prosperous in his career. He was a man of ability, which however was somewhat overrated by himself. In a district of Stirlingshire, where he had relations, he was distinguished by the appellation of the 'Philosopher.' The Rev. Joseph Robertson, minister of the Chapel of Ease in Leith Wynd, was famous in his generation for accommodating, at various rates of payment, those who were in a great haste to be married ; but he was at length banished from Scotland for forging some document intended to expedite a matrimonial union. As to the threat of prosecuting the printer, publisher, or editor of the ' Clerical Review,' it is not easy to discover on what ground an action was to be brought ; but those were arbitrary and iniquitous times, and it was a prudent measure to discontinue a publication which no exertion could have rendered profitable. The notices of sermons are not often unfavourable or severe, but, on the contrary, some preachers of very ordinary ability receive ample commendation. Of this fugitive and evanescent publication I subjoin the full title : ' The Edinburgh Clerical Review ; or, Weekly Report of the different Sermons preached every Sunday by the Established Clergy of Edinburgh. Drawn up by a Society of Gentlemen.' Edinburgh, 1799, 8vo. It only reached two numbers, each consisting of two sheets ; and it includes reports of the sermons preached on the 10th and the 17th of November. Whatever insidious designs might be imputed to the projector, or to some of his associates, these pages contain no statement or insinuation exhibiting the slightest tendency to confirm Dr. Leyden's account of a project which appears to have excited so much alarm."

APPENDIX C.—P. 42.

" EDINBURGH, *January* 2, 1801.

" DEAR SIR,—I send enclosed the copy of a paper I gave in lately to Dr. Hope, which has met with a less welcome reception than I thought it was

* Beattie's *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, vol. i. p. 246.

entitled to. He was illustrating the radiation of heat by means of concave mirrors, by placing a hot body in the focus of the one, and the blackened ball of an air thermometer in the other. He proved in the same manner also the radiation of cold, by placing a phial with ice in the focus, which occasioned a reduction of temperature in the other focus. Dr. Hutton's reason for this reduction of temperature is, that less heat is emitted by the cold body than by that portion of atmospherical air which it displaces. Dr. H. expressed himself with *doubt* as to the truth of this opinion; and I proposed to him the contained experiments which I think can afford a complete decision as to Dr. Hutton's opinion. It is to be observed, that I do not absolutely assert that emanations are emitted by the cold body. I only speak in subservience to Dr. Hutton's opinion; and the one result will disprove the consistency of his supposition with the opinion of such emanations; and the other proves the consistency of his two suppositions, and, at the same time, confers a high probability on the real existence of these emanations. The experiments are exceedingly obvious, and I take to myself no merit for having suggested them. I only mention them as a specimen of that spirit of monopoly and exclusion which extends to more of the Edinburgh professors than Dr. Hope. He told me that he had not read all my paper when I called upon him, nor had performed any of the experiments which I proposed. He evidently did not understand them. His objections were so trifling and absurd, that I am ashamed to think they came from the mouth of a professor. He obliged me to repeat my meaning half a dozen of times, and seemed to be labouring under the desire of saving himself the indignity of being dictated to. I at last, however, extorted from him a faint and reluctant acknowledgment of the validity of my reasonings; but he wished to arrogate to himself the anticipation of what I suggested. I told him that I thought that we were warranted to speak of Dr. Hutton's opinion in a more decided manner than he had done in the class; and, upon the whole, cannot blame myself with having expressed myself throughout in a forward or disrespectful manner. Though the experiments are obvious, yet I suspect they have not yet occurred to the consideration of chemists. As the radiation of cold is a new subject, Dr. Hope having exhibited the phenomenon to Count Rumford last summer for the first time, it is upon this phenomenon that Count Rumford now rests the principal weight of his arguments for heat consisting in the vibrations of the minute particles of bodies.

"I have come on pretty well in the way of pupils. I have got a mathematical one from Mr. Playfair, and have two other pupils beside. I attend Mr. Stewart's first class. I have only seen him twice since I came to Edinburgh, and that for a very short time.—I am, yours, with esteem,

"*Dr. James Brown.* THOMAS CHALMERS."

"I apprehend that Dr. Hutton's opinion respecting the radiation of cold admits of being either refuted or confirmed by the following simple experiment.

"If, as he says, the reduction of temperature in the bulb of the thermometer arises not from any positive efficiency exerted by the cold, but merely from less heat being radiated by the cold body than by an equal portion of atmospherical air, it is evident that if a vacuum be formed in the focus of the concave mirror, no rays at all will be emitted, and consequently a still greater reduction of temperature will take place.

"If the thermometer is placed indifferently without the reach of any of the mirrors, it will exhibit the temperature of the room; place it in the focus of a concave mirror A, the consequence is, a small elevation of temperature; for though the rays from any object in the axis of the mirror do not light upon the mirror in a parallel direction, yet, as you remove from the mirror, the divergency of these rays is so small, that though not accurately collected in a point, they fall in great abundance upon the bulb, and raise its temperature. It is impossible to say, *a priori*, whether, if you now place another concave mirror B in the axis of this mirror, it will have any effect in producing a further elevation of temperature. Certain it is, that the air in the focus of the mirror B is more powerful than before, because its emanating rays are more accurately collected in the bulb of the thermometer; but, again, the divergent rays from the more remote portions of air are thereby intercepted. However this be, it does not affect the validity of the second method, which I humbly propose for determining the truth of Dr. Hutton's opinion. Let both the mirrors still retain the same place; let the cold body be placed in the focus A, and let the temperature upon the bulb in B be observed. The deviation of this temperature from the temperature of the room arises from the joint effect of those rays which are accurately collected from the cold body, and those rays which are less accurately collected from the intermediate axis between the mirrors. Let the mirror A, in whose focus the cold body is placed, be now turned round, and observe the change of temperature which ensues when the convex side of it is now presented to the cold body. The change, whatever that be, is owing solely to the collected emanations of the cold body being now removed from the bulb of the thermometer, for all other circumstances remain the same. The divergent rays from the more remote parts of the axis are still intercepted by the mirror A, and those in the intermediate part of the axis fall on the mirror B as before, and have the same effect on the temperature of the bulb. Hence, if this change be an increase of temperature, it proves that the emanation from the cold body had a positive efficiency in reducing

the temperature, since the abstraction of these emanations increases that temperature. But if the change be a reduction of temperature, it proves that the abstraction of these emanations is a diminution of caloric, and that the arguments which those who oppose the materiality of heat derive from this phenomenon fall to the ground. I hope that my total unacquaintance with the present state of chemical knowledge will excuse anything which appears trite or familiar in these observations. THOMAS CHALMERS."

"EDINBURGH, *Feb.* 25, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,—I received your very kind letter some weeks ago, and am much obliged to you for your instructive observations. I met with Dr. Hope some time after, who told me that he had looked over my paper with more attention, and found it was correct. I am not sure what to understand by this—if he admits the justness of its hypothetical reasonings, or if he has performed the experiment, and obtained any new or original result. He went off without telling me any more particulars, and though I have met with him several times since, he has never mentioned anything more of the subject.—I am, yours, with sincerest esteem, THOMAS CHALMERS.

"*Dr. James Brown.*"

The letter which follows was addressed to James Wood, M.D., now of Edinburgh, who had interested himself in obtaining the offer of a situation for Mr. Chalmers :—

"EDINBURGH, *April* 3, 1801.

"DEAR SIR,—I received yours about an hour ago, and am extremely obliged to you for the friendly concern you have manifested in my behalf. I have determined *not* to go ; but the interest you have taken in my welfare demands a more particular explanation. The office itself is highly agreeable to my wishes, and is as much superior to my professional prospects as the manly energy of active life is to be preferred to the habits of mawkish indolence and retirement, so incidental to the situation of a clergyman. But there are reasons, which you have in part anticipated, that oblige me at present to an opposite determination. In the first place, I would not without the greatest reluctance interrupt the course of my present studies, which for the last winter have been chiefly directed to that most interesting of subjects—chemistry. In the next place, I have some engagements in the way of teaching, which, though they may be got over, yet cannot well be relinquished without a degree of indelicacy. In the third place, and chiefly, I cherish some faint yet I hope well-founded prospects of preferment in this country in a line I prefer above all others—the teaching

of mathematics. This is not generally known among my friends, and their ignorance of it may perhaps incline them to charge my determination with folly. In the last place, independently of such preferment, I think the interval betwixt leaving the college and entering into the office of a clergyman cannot be more profitably employed than in extending my acquaintance with science. These reasons, added to the uncertainty of entering into the situation, will, I hope, justify me in your opinion for not availing myself at present of your obliging recommendation. I feel a sentiment of gratitude for your kindness which I do not express. I may be deficient in the language of acknowledgment, but I confide in the liberal interpretation of a candid and enlightened mind.

"I attend the two classes you mention. I was a little disgusted at first by that foppery of manner and language which distinguishes the lectures of Dr. Hope; but the mind soon accommodates to the influence of custom; and I must say, upon the whole, he is a good professor. He explains the different actions with a simplicity and familiarity which I did not expect. He does very well as long as he confines himself to the particular doctrines of chemistry, but is miserably poor, I think, in his general discussions upon the nature and objects of the science.

"Have you observed that Mr. Stewart uniformly avoids every subject which involves any long or difficult discussion? And yet occasional appearances of ingenuity and penetration, and even of a systematic comprehensive tone, render it difficult to say whether this is to be altogether ascribed to want of ability. I disagree with him in the leading features of his philosophy, particularly on the subjects of liberty, physical and efficient causes, and the indications of design in the universe.

"There is nothing occurring at present particularly interesting. Dr. Gregory, you will know, has gained his cause to the great mortification of the surgeons in town. The chemistry class was never so full as it is this winter. I know that Dr. Hope has not below 350 students. This is wonderful, considering the abilities of his rivals, Drs. John and Thomas Thomson. The latter is giving particular satisfaction: his plan is altogether original. It is quite the synthetic mode of communication. He arranges bodies according to the simplicity of their composition—begins with the elementary substances, and proceeds to the more complicated. This plan is perhaps the more philosophical, and to be preferred, on account of its simplicity, and the aid which it affords the memory. At the same time, I have felt advantages in prosecuting a subject according to the natural or theoretical order of discovery. You will recollect, in particular, Dr. Robison's method of discussing astronomy.

"With best wishes for your welfare, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant, THOMAS CHALMERS."

"During one session at Edinburgh he attended the lectures of the celebrated Mr. Stewart. One day, while conversing with him respecting that distinguished individual, he asked me what I thought of his lectures? To this I replied, that I thought them very elegant, and that I believed they were very useful; but that I frequently lost him, or in other words, was not able at times to follow him in the train of his discussions. He immediately said, 'I never lost him,'—at which I was greatly surprised; 'but,' he added, 'that owing to his numerous and long digressions, and to the variety of quotations which he read from those authors which had a reference to his subject, *he never knew where he was.*'"—*MS. Memoranda of Dr. Chalmers, by the Rev. Mr. Smith.*

APPENDIX D.—P. 77.

EXTRACT FROM INTRODUCTORY LECTURE TO A COURSE OF CHEMISTRY.

"Chemistry is one of the most interesting and dignified of pursuits. It has all the charm and freshness of novelty to recommend it. It is fast hastening to perfection. It is daily extending its triumphs. The annals of every year are recording some new and important discovery, and its cause is supported by the labours of more than half the philosophers of Europe. A mind devoted to the interests of science, you can easily conceive, will sigh for an opportunity of teaching it. Such a mind rejoices in communication; it rejoices in imparting to all around that enthusiasm which animates its own exertions; it rejoices in awakening among its hearers the flame of emulation and enterprise, and triumphs in the silence of their attention as the most flattering of all testimony. Let it not be disguised—I look on these hours which are consecrated to the labours of instruction as the most important and delightful exercise of my powers, and exult in the office of an instructor as the proudest station which a man can occupy. * * *

"When introducing a new science, it is customary to begin at the first period of its discovery, to unfold the progress of its improvement, to pursue the successive steps of its history, and to settle its metaphysics and first principles on an unquestionable foundation. This order I reprobate as unnatural. It is altogether unfit for the purposes of instruction. The

history of a science can never be delivered without a perpetual recurrence to that phraseology which is peculiar to it—a phraseology which, at the commencement of your studies, you are not prepared to understand. There is nothing that I am more cordially disposed to execrate than an ostentatious parade of technicals—a pitiful attempt to excite the stare and astonishment of ignorance—the wretched ambition of exhibiting yourself to a gaping populace as a great philosopher, a wonderful head-piece, a stupendous intellect, read in the mysteries of nature, and versed in all the lore of antiquity. My sole object in instituting a course of lectures upon chemistry is to introduce you to one of the most useful departments of philosophical investigation. I wish to divest it of that mysterious attire in which it has too often repelled the attempts of the solitary and unassisted inquirer. It may be remarked of chemistry, with more justice than of any other science, that it is seldom a self-taught acquirement. A taste for chemistry is seldom derived from the mere perusal of chemical treatises, or from the efforts of solitary reflection. To be a chemist, you must have frequented the instructions of some chemical teacher—you must have repaired to some hall of chemical experiments—you must have familiarized your conceptions to the subjects of chemistry by the actual exhibition of these subjects to the senses. You are miserably mistaken if you think you can derive the same from the perusal of books, or from the labours of unassisted ingenuity. They will fail in giving you a distinct conception of the apparatus and experiments of chemistry. It is altogether an antiquated idea to think of deriving the knowledge of external nature from the meditations of solitude. You may as well think of demonstrating the functions of the planetary system by the construction of a syllogism. This might have done with the monastic philosophy of the Middle Ages, but it will not do with the actual and enlightened philosophy of the present day. The spirit of modern philosophy is a spirit of patient and industrious inquiry. It rejects the speculations of an ardent and unbridled fancy ; it denounces every system that is not founded on the basis of experience, however much it may charm by its simplicity or arrest by its magnificence ; it is an enemy to all rash and precipitate conclusions ; it will suffer nothing to divert it from the path of sober and experimental inquiry ; it will suffer nothing to disturb the calm and unruffled solidity of its convictions. In vain for her will fancy ply its siren allurements, or attempt to delude her by the charm of novelty and the brilliancy of speculation. She acknowledges no master ; she will yield to nothing but the stubborn and incontrovertible evidence of facts. With her the result of a single experiment is sufficient to overthrow a whole system, though supported by the testimony of ages,

and enthroned in all the pride of antiquity. It is under her fostering influence that Chemistry has arisen the proudest monument of the science and invention of civilized Europe. It is astonishing to reflect, that this splendid fabric is the production of half a century. The science of chemistry may be regarded as a new invention. It rose from a state lower than non-existence; it has arisen from that degradation to which the corrupting philosophy of the Middle Ages had sunk every department of philosophical inquiry; it has arisen from the barbarity and ignorance of the schools; it has shaken off the fetters imposed on it by the authority of name, and the insolence of literary despotism. True, chemistry had existed for centuries, but not as a science; there was not a vestige of science in the contentious jargon and crude speculations of the old naturalists—not a vestige of science in the crucibles and melting-pots of alchemy—not a vestige of science among those ridiculous beings who, in search of the philosopher's stone, were enveloped for days and nights in the smoke of furnaces, and the suffocating dust of a laboratory. How could it be otherwise? They were misled by the visionary dreams of theory. Their mode of proceeding was not to reduce theory to experiment, but to explain experiment by theory. They spurned that humble and unassuming spirit which has since raised the philosophy of modern times to an elevation that all the sophistry of the schools can never overthrow. Instead of creating a system of nature, we have become her disciples, we listen to her instructions, we record her phenomena, and we bend in silent humility to her authoritative voice. The philosophers of the old generation adopted a different style of proceeding. They were determined to go dashingly to work. They constructed their systems of the universe within the retirement of a monastery; they settled their opinions by the quibbles of a pedantic and contemptible logic; they scorned to derive any aid from the low work of experimenting, or from the observations of their senses. They confided in the light of their own minds, and spurned at the drudgery of experiments. If an experiment appeared to contradict their favourite system, it went for nothing; it was merely a circumstance; they had ever a syllogism at hand to explain the difference, and to save the consistency of their own speculations. But the case is different with the philosophers of modern Europe. With them experiment is the touchstone of truth. They have learned that nature takes her own way, unmindful of the closet speculations of theory. They laugh at dreams of systems, as equally contemptible with the conceits of infancy. They step abroad into the world, and eye nature in all her operations. With them the result of an experiment is the most interesting of all lessons, and they think no drudgery too painful to arrive at it. They

will descend to the workshop of the artist—they will handle his instruments —they will observe the powers and elements of nature with a steady and reflecting eye—they will throw her into all her attitudes. Does any doubt if this mode of proceeding is successful? We appeal to the labours of those illustrious men who have walked the proud career of discovery;—we appeal to the great Newton, and to his numerous train of disciples and admirers;—we appeal to the present state of chemistry. What important accessions does it gain each year from the labours of experimental philosophy! With what rapidity is it accumulating its store of facts and of principles! What a study is its interesting variety of doctrines—the combined wisdom and experience of only half a century! What new and unexplained recesses of science has it penetrated! What mysterious operations it has revealed! What hidden and important laws it has established to explain the best secrets of nature, and illuminate the labours of art! Will any man have the audacity to maintain that such wonders would have been accomplished by the pupils of the dialectic philosophy? Could such discoveries have issued from the schools of Aristotle? No; the logicians of old might have wrangled for ages—they might have heaped syllogism on syllogism—they might have constructed system after system, and attempted to demonstrate the constitution of the universe by their categorics of logic: they could never have restored science from that sink of degradation to which the ignorance and barbarity of the schools had condemned it.

"The establishment of a class for chemistry must be considered as highly appropriate in the present circumstances of the country, when the applications of theory to the purposes of utility are daily extending—when the progress of commerce, of navigation and manufactures, calls aloud for the improvement and multiplication of the practical arts—and when the lamp of science is held up to illuminate the lowest walks of business and industry.

"Chemistry teems with the happiest applications to art and manufacture, and it will therefore contribute in a most essential degree to the progressive amelioration of society. Art is antecedent to philosophy. When philosophy first arose, it saw art enriched by a variety of useful, but inexplicable methods—the accumulated treasures of ages, the results of accident, or perhaps the inventions of the ingenious men who lived in obscurity and died in forgetfulness, whom no memorial has recorded, and of whom there is not a tongue to tell the name or the history. I must say that it is one of the best exercises of philosophy to illuminate the processes of art—to give the dignity of science to the lowest offices of mechanical drudgery;

when turning the laws of nature to applications of practical utility, and facilitating the labours of the workshop, she administers to the sweets of human life, and to the substantial comforts of human society. Philosophy is not merely useful in the explanation of what is already established. It suggests new methods, and facilitates the execution of old. It retrenches all that is useless. It substitutes machinery in the place of human labour; and though many have declaimed against its introduction as ruinous to the subsistence of the poor, yet it discovers the grossest ignorance of political economy to deny, that mechanical improvements will ultimately diffuse additional comfort through all orders of the community—will support a greater population—will give wealth and independence to a more numerous class of society; and by affording leisure for the exercises of the mind, will ultimately extend the triumph of sentiment and virtue. * * *

"I am anxious to remove two misconceptions from the mind of those who mean to honour me with their attendance. The first is, that a class of chemistry is a mere class of entertainment; that the sole object of the class is to present you with a series of amusing exhibitions; that it is to dazzle the public eye by the glare of experiment, or to stun the public ear by the noise of chemical explosions. If your sole object is amusement, I would certainly advise you not to repair within the limit of these walls. I spurn at the low and despicable artifices of literary imposture. I blush at the ostentation of a gaudy and theatrical parade. I am anxious to sustain the purity of science. I am anxious to support its expiring cause in this neighbourhood; it will amply console my feelings amid the cares and perplexities of my situation, if what I have said or done can operate as a barrier against the degeneracy of an indolent and superficial public. I look forward with horror to that gloomy and disastrous day, when the last remnants of philosophy shall be extinguished—when our schools of science shall be polluted by the insignificance of a flippant and superficial literature —when the votaries of science shall be denounced and persecuted, and every dunce will pass philosopher, because his birth, or his fortune, or his accommodating servility, have rendered him the nursling of academical patronage. A class of chemistry is not a mere class of amusement; it is a class in which there ought to be delivered the connected and systematic view of a science —a science distinguished by the importance of its doctrines, and the copious fertility of its applications to the various departments of business and industry. Experiments must be regarded as indispensable. I will regard no efforts of attention to be unprofitable which are employed in the perfection of my chemical apparatus, or on the success of my chemical experiments. Experiments must ever be appealed to as the proofs of each doctrine in

chemistry. There is nothing that I am more anxious to accomplish than a series of judicious and well-conducted experiments. But let these experiments always be instructive ; let them never be brought forward but for the establishment of some doctrine, or the confirmation of some principle. You must not imagine yourselves chemists because you have admired the rich colouring of a chemical tinge, or laughed at the noise of a chemical explosion. You have all heard of quacks in medicine ; but quackery is by no means peculiar to the gentlemen of the healing art. The world has long been pestered with a race of beings whom we may rightly denominate the quack doctors of philosophy. They are the more insufferable that they are often invested with all the pageantry of official importance ; they tower in the pride of academical distinctions, and are often surrounded with the admiration of an ignorant and deluded public. The instituting of a mere class of amusement I would feel to be a wretched prostitution of character. I would feel it to be a disgraceful accommodation to the indolence and frivolity of the prevailing taste. I would feel it to be a degrading attempt to catch the acclamations of the multitude. I would as soon consent to entertain the public by being the leader of a puppet-show, by the exploits of a Merry Andrew, or by the legerdemain of an itinerant exhibition, as I would consent to entertain you by that silly parade of toys and gimcracks which have been dignified with the title of philosophical experiments. An experiment in chemistry is interesting, not because it is calculated to amuse children, or excite the astonishment of a gaping populace—not because fitted to gratify the senses, fill a multitude with wonder, or give delight and entertainment to the fancy. It is only interesting in the eye of a true philosopher, when it awakens his intellectual exercise, conducts to the establishment of a principle, gives solidity to a doctrine, and light and explanation to a mystery. When we exhibit a stationary temperature of melting ice or of boiling water, it is apt to be considered as a dull and insipid experiment, though the very experiment which led to a new and important revolution in the science of chemistry, an experiment that has immortalized the genius of Black, and given him fairer pretensions to a seat in the temple of glory than any disciple of chemistry in modern Europe has to boast of. Farewell to the substantial interests of philosophy, when a class of instruction is degraded by a servile accommodation to the indolence and frivolity of the prevailing taste, when an experiment is brought forward as one of the many miracles in the art of jugglery, and when a lecture degenerates into a dish of entertainment for the evening. Science blushes for her prostituted dignity ; she weeps over her expiring interests, and trembles in the prospect of that day when her sanctuary shall be in-

vaded by the usurpations of a mountebank. Let it be uttered with shame and regret, that the literary character of Britain is fast hastening to degradation and decay; that the mercantile spirit of its people has engendered a contempt for what are called the useless and abstruse investigations of theory; that even the science of our universities is deserted for the cabals of interest and the low jockeyship of competition; and that, at this moment, the malignity of a vitiating politics is employed in damping the finer energies of the mind, and in blasting the efforts of independent genius.

"Science is something more than an elegant relaxation—an ornamental accomplishment—a luxury to soothe and exhilarate the mind, when it withdraws from the more important occupations of business. What I wish to impress is its usefulness—its intimate connexion with the political importance of the country—its high and urgent claims upon the patronage of the State—a patronage far more liberal and encouraging than the present mercantile spirit of the age is disposed to award to it. Science is of no account among the political arithmeticians of the day. Our profound calculators on finance never acknowledge it A bale of merchandise that will yield a goodly return to the revenue is of higher estimation in their eyes than all the literature and philosophy of the country. I am much afraid that there is a gross infatuation in this low and beggarly mode of reckoning. It may land us in the lowest stage of political degradation; and posterity may curse the day when the mercantile spirit banished sentiment and philosophy from the land. Let us cease to confound enlightened philosophy with the vain and unprofitable jargon of the schools; let us cease to think that it is composed wholly of visionary speculations, or that it is to be laid by with indifference and contempt. This is not the day for such an error—when the deadliest foe of Britain acknowledges the importance of philosophy, and avails himself of it as an engine of political influence; when he calls in its aid to throw a splendour over his government, and to add to the physical strength and resources of his country; when he admits philosophers into his councils, carries with him to the field their profoundest speculations, and makes them the instruments of his haughty and malignant ambition. To oppose Bonaparte with his own weapons, it is not enough that we stand before him in the armour and with the intrepidity of soldiers: we must oppose to him the armour of the mind—the skill and science of the country. The strength of Britain does not lie in her money or in her commodities. It lies in the heart and understanding of her people—in their affectionate patriotism. In vain will you say that this is idle and declamatory raving. It has the sober and unquestionable sanction of history. In the commencement of the last war, it was the

chemistry of France that saved her from destruction; and in the present war, it is her military science that has convulsed and overthrown all the politics of Europe. This is an unprecedented era in the history of the world. The spirit of Bonaparte is a spirit of endless and unprincipled ambition. He now riots in all the pride of victory and success. He has nearly half the physical strength, and more than half the philosophy of Europe to uphold him. * * *

"The second misconception that I am anxious to remove, is the false and unfounded impression that chemistry is a difficult science. I know no science where more useful and important knowledge may be acquired with less expense of painful or laborious reflection. It is the language of some, that chemistry is so exceedingly obscure, that there can be no understanding it; that it involves such a variety of facts and principles, such a parade of technicals, such a load of dry and philosophical discussion, as to be the study of a lifetime. Such representations evince the folly of that precipitate confidence which the humiliating sense of its own absurdity can never restrain. The field of chemical science is extensive, but the instructions of an ordinary course will suffice to impress its leading facts and principles. The language of chemistry is peculiar, but the explanation of a single hour will suffice to demonstrate the principles of the chemical nomenclature. The philosophy of chemistry is sound, and may be supported by the best of arguments, but I maintain that it is luminous, and may be addressed with facility to the conceptions of an ordinary mind. I know no science which requires less of previous preparation—no science more accessible to all the varieties of human genius—no science which demands fewer efforts of painful and fatiguing attention. To represent any science to the youthful mind in a forbidding aspect, is to discourage the efforts of that mind at the very outset of its literary career. This conduct is what I would call an enormity of the second order. It is to blast the intellectual progress of the young—it is to wither the rising energies of his character—it is to depress the fire of youthful ambition—it is to condemn them to drivel the remainder of their days in the disgrace and obscurity of ignorance. Yet I say it is only an enormity of the second order. There is a still higher enormity in the awful catalogue of human guilt—the corruption of youthful virtue. Did you never observe men who, in serving their own petty purposes, made the young the instruments of their low and wheedling policy—taught them to desert their friendships, to renounce their independence, to disown their engagements, to smother the native and independent aspirations of the heart, to surrender their affections at the cold and polluting touch of interest, &c. &c.?"

The following exquisite passage on the character of Rousseau was prepared for some one of the lectures, chemical or mathematical, delivered at this period :—

"It has been said of philosophy, that it affords a sovereign remedy against the numerous ills and perplexities of life—that it relieves the mind from the languor of discontent and the miseries of disappointment—that it steals an hour from disquietude, and composes the agitations of the heart when it is torn asunder by the most gloomy and distressing anxieties. It were reaching the sublimest of all independence if a man could curb in the motions of his own spirit—if he could shake off the melancholy which encumbers him—if, surrounded as he is by a thousand cares and a thousand sorrows, he could retire within the solitude of his bosom, and wrap himself up in the armour of patience—if he could rise to the lofty attitude of intrepidity and defiance—if he could assume the sovereignty of his own heart, and chase away the gloom and anxiety which torment it—if he could walk in triumph through the changing paths of this world—if, amid the diverse and tempestuous scenes of human life, he could maintain the serenity of a tranquil mind and the gaiety of an unruffled countenance. This is what I am afraid philosophy, with all its abstractions, can never confer, and what mind, with all its boasted omnipotence, will never arrive at. The omnipotence of mind is an empty speculation ; it is a dream which can only be enjoyed in the retirement of a calm and contemplative philosophy ; it is the vapouring pretension of schoolmen who strut along in visionary importance, untried in the sad agitations of the human heart, or by the affecting lessons of human experience. It is not by the force of thought that you are to quiet the agony of a wounded spirit : it is by the force of time and of patience ; it is by the exercises of an active employment ; it is by the slow operation of habit upon the physical constitution of the mind, which conducts us from a state of torture to a state of indifference through all the intermediate gradations of pain and anxiety. Rousseau is a melancholy example of the impotence of philosophy. He was surrounded with admiration. He was hailed as the amiable enthusiast, whose every impulse was benevolence, and whose was the voice of an impressive eloquence that could never die. But, O philosophy ! how poor and how impotent thy pretensions ! Rousseau was unhappy. Pursue him to his solitude, and you will witness the most affecting of all spectacles—the apostle of independence, with a heart consumed by a thousand disquietudes, and a countenance shrouded in the blackness of despair. Yes, there was a misery within which haunted him, a wound which philosophy could not cure—the voice of a tormenting spirit which robbed him of his peace, and stirred up in his agitated bosom

the wild war of turbulence and disorder. True, he had his moments of rapture, but it was like a glare of lightning in the midst of a waste howling wilderness; it was a tumultuous enthusiasm which left behind it a deeper and a deadlier melancholy; it was a frenzy of the soul, which soon left him to the undivided dominion of agony and despair. The ill-regulated mind of Rousseau was the victim of a thousand infirmities which all the wisdom of philosophy could not heal—a gloomy and suspicious temper—a restless anxiety which any trifle could alarm, and every idle whisper could agitate and distress—an unhappy imagination, which conceived that every friend looked on him with an altered countenance—a diseased sensibility which preyed upon his comfort, and cut short the weary remainder of his days The admirers of his eloquence visit his tomb, and hail him as the child of nature and of enthusiasm. The best lesson they can carry away is, that the triumphs of genius can never compensate for the loss of tranquillity; that the sobriety of prudence is better than the splendour of original talent; that the noblest gifts which reason can bestow are contentment and common sense—a mind that can maintain its vivacity amid the cares and disappointments of the world—a home where every eye beams kindness, and every heart is animated with that sacred confidence which feels no fear and harbours no suspicion. O how I hate that philosophy which destroys the man, which sours him at the world, and unfits him for the enjoyments of society—which nourishes malignity of temper, and scatters misery around it by the terrors of a rigid and unbending severity. Philosophy is most exalted when she is most amiable—when she descends from her lofty abstractions to partake in the family scenes and entertainments of the world—when her eye assumes the mild lustre of benevolence, and her footsteps are directed to the humble recesses of poverty and disease. The character commonly ascribed to a philosopher is a character of austerity—an uncomplying obstinacy of temper—a proud and contemptuous feeling of his own superiority—a rude independence of mind, which leads him to trample on the established forms of society, and to neglect all those minuter proprieties which give a charm and a delicacy to the enjoyments of social intercourse. These may at times be the accompaniments, but they are by no means the effects of philosophy. It is only a little learning that is dangerous. The vices and the affectations of philosophy are only to be met with in him who is led away by the vanity of superficial acquirements. The highest finish that philosophy can give to the character is, to bring it back to the simplicity of nature, and to recall it from all that is wild and extravagant to the sobriety of common experience, and the home-bred virtues of private and domestic society."

APPENDIX E.—P. 84.

DEFENCE BEFORE THE PRESBYTERY.

"From the nature of the thing, it is impossible to adduce the formality of legal proofs in support of my assertion; but there is no event in the history of my past life of the truth of which I am more confident than that my appointment to that office gave almost universal offence to the members of the College. Though my convictions are perfectly decided as to the ground upon which that offence was conceived, yet I will not state those convictions, from the same defect, not of effectual, but of formal evidence. I will not say whether their dislike to me proceeded from the influence of a pure and respectable principle, or from their conviction of my incapacity, or from their anxiety to have the office filled by a man of superior powers and endowments, or from their dread of admitting a new man into the list of competition, or from their wish to give every opposition to one whose presence might embarrass the train of arrangements they were then contemplating—from their jealousy of another combatant who might have skill or activity to wrestle with the best of them in the scramble for lucrative vacancies. In spite of all opposition, however, I gained credit with my students and employer. * * * True, I succeeded in maintaining to the last all the rigour of an inviolable discipline, but it was only by the weight of my own personal authority.* It was in spite of the direct opposition of my employer, and notwithstanding the feeble, reluctant, and ineffectual interference of the University. It is difficult to allay the fire of controversy after it is once kindled. The pride of an irritated mind spurns at the humility of confession—then misunderstandings arose in which the College took a still more decided part, and confirmed every suspicion I formerly entertained as to the state of their dispositions. The minds of some of them were inflamed to acrimony. * * * With the exception of a single individual, there was none to support my pretensions—none to protect me from the aspersions of calumny. My mathematical talents were impeached by my employer, and to what could I appeal from the weight

* One of his students was too late of coming to the class; and instead of presenting Mr. Chalmers with the customary fine, threw his shilling contemptuously on the floor. Mr. Chalmers quietly stooped, lifted it, and thus addressed him in the presence of the class:—"Mr. R——, perhaps you think it is painful for me to inflict this fine; but depend upon it, sir, I am never more in my element than when blasting the impertinence of a puppy. Mr. R——, you seem to think learning beneath your notice; but take my word for it, sir, you are most egregiously mistaken, if you suppose that the swaggering importance of a buck will carry you through the world."

of official authority? He is the man whose testimony would be respected by the ignorant and unthinking, and the man whose testimony would be appealed to with triumph by all who felt an interest in excluding my pretensions. * * * I had the homage of my students' undissembled applause. They were young, and had not yet learned to smother their native and independent affections. They had not yet learned to stifle their attachments, or to surrender their veracity at the cold and polluting touch of interest.

"I now proceed to the second division of my argument. Have I violated any of the established rules of ecclesiastical discipline? I mean nothing disrespectful to the Presbytery. I am their youngest member, and hope they shall never find me rebellious or undutiful. I am ambitious of their esteem, and shall study to deserve it. I love their society, and trust they shall never think me unworthy of it. But they will excuse me if I resist their discretionary power. My sole appeal is to the established rule of ecclesiastical discipline. What law of the Church have I violated? What Act of Assembly have I trampled on? It may be said that I have deserted my duty to my parishioners. But if this desertion does not come under some specific regulation, I may be an object of execration, I may be an object of contempt, but I can never be an object of legal correction. The maxim of a free and enlightened country is, better let a few criminals escape than confide the administration of justice to the exercises of discretionary power and discretionary judgment. Admit the exercise of discretionary power, and you prostitute every civil and ecclesiastical court in the country. You prostitute it into a theatre of petty individual passions, of personal animosity, of glaring partiality and injustice. It is no longer what it ought to be,—an interpreter of laws. It is no longer a tribunal of equity to which an injured man resorts with confidence, although surrounded with a host of persecutors. The great security of the subject is, that he knows with certainty the consequences of all his proceedings in society. He knows that none but existing laws are around him. He knows that while these laws are respected, he can suffer from no subsequent decision, no arbitrary judgment, no personal dislike, no violent or capricious tyranny.

"Admit discretionary power, and you open a scene of the grossest injustice. Our courts will become the humble instruments of men who have power or influence to overrule their proceedings. They will lend the aid of their decision to the policy of the powerful. At one time they will resist the impressive appeal of the injured, and laugh at his indignation as the ravings of a frantic enthusiasm. At another, they will refuse him a hearing, because they wish nothing disagreeable to come out—nothing to

the disgrace or prejudice of a respectable body. True, the individual may have been injured, but far better to let him suffer than expose the infirmities of those who are men of rank and consideration.

"It may be said that it is the peculiar business of presbyteries to watch over the residence of their members. It is the business of presbyteries to enforce the standing laws of the Church, and see that these be executed. But it is certainly not the business of presbyteries to exceed these laws, or to exercise discretionary powers, unless expressly vested in them by an Act of Assembly.

"People indulge in a vague and general assertion that residence is essential to the constitution of presbytery. This assertion amounts to nothing, unless the word 'residence' be defined. And from what do we collect the import of the term? We can collect it from nothing but from those particular laws and decisions of the legislature, which, in an aggregate view, make up the constitution of our ecclesiastical establishment.

"Some may perhaps think that the arrogating of a discretionary power will exalt them into consequence. But they are wreathing a chain round their own necks, and the necks of all their posterity in office. They are forging for themselves a chain of inquisitorial despotism. Its oppressive influence will be felt in the minutest action of your history; every movement freedom may be converted into a subject of presbyterial discussion. Caprice or malignity will lay hold of it; and our general meetings, instead of being devoted to mirth and to friendship, will become a scene of rancour and injustice, and of the lowest and most degrading of passions.

"Admit discretionary power, and you open a door to all the cruelties of persecution. Our courts of equity will be prostituted into the instruments of oppression. They will be the humble and convenient tools of a domineering policy. Instead of being a refuge to the injured, they will add to the pangs of that heart that is already wrung by the injustice of its enemies.

"Admit discretionary power, and farewell to the impartiality of justice. We will lend our votes to those whom we wish to accommodate. We will determine our courts' proceedings by the speculations of interest; and if we can only succeed in winning the smiles of patronage, we care not for the whims of conscience, and the dictates of a squeamish integrity. The non-residence of one man will be tolerated for years, because he is the nursling of the dominant patronage; while the non-residence of another, if only persisted in for months, will arouse all our indignation, and all our religious enthusiasm. Some people have a most admirable conscience. They have the faculty of repressing all its troublesome suggestions when they find it convenient. They bring it under due management. They can

keep it under proper control. We will suffer it to give no offence to the powerful, but will reserve all its zeal for the helpless and unresisting victims of our injustice. Such the principles and the generosity of those who would fill the world with the fame of their sanctity. O ye scribes, pharisees, hypocrites, who strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel. True, I am an obscure individual; I am an outcast from academical attentions; I am not invited to the dinners of the literati. I can give no favours, exert no interest, issue no degrees to flatter the vanity of fools, and grace the title-page of scribblers. Yet I will hold up my face with an unblushing confidence. I do not shrink at the feeling of my own insignificance, because I am addressing a Presbytery whose justice and liberality I have no reason to suspect—a Presbytery that will suffer no imputation upon their candour and consistency—a Presbytery that will spurn at the cowardice of deserting the cause of innocence because it is unsupported.

"To correct me for non-residence would subject you to the charge of a flagrant and undeniable partiality. In what does the peculiarity of my crime consist? I have published my non-residence in the newspapers; I was unconscious of guilt, and shrunk not from public criticism;—and for this I am to be made the object of presbyterial censure. It is not for the crime of non-residence, then, that I am to be denounced; it is for the crime of telling it to the world. It is for the crime of coming forward like an honest man with a blunt and undisguised declaration of my proceedings. What an appearance will such a measure have in the eyes of the public? What a fund of ridicule and triumph to the enemies of religion? To what imputations of fanaticism and hypocrisy will we be subjected? The crime is of small consideration. It is the ostentation of it that we hate. Pursue your licentious indulgences, but throw over a mask to conceal them from the eye of the public. Go on with your irregularities: you shall have no disturbance from our zeal or from our religious indignation, so long as you can succeed in protecting them by the shelter of hypocrisy. But if you begin to blab out your irregularities, it is then full time that our zeal should appear, because the world expects it of us. I am much obliged to the gentlemen for the lesson of prudence that they have given me. I must from this time learn the very useful and very necessary art of concealment.

"But to be serious, I will ask these gentlemen, if in conscience they can say that in my case they discern a flagrant and criminal peculiarity. Can they lay their hands upon their heart and tell me that they were ignorant of the non-residence of my predecessor? If they knew it, what is the mighty difference? In common life, in prudence, in morality, it is always

upon the certainty of your belief that you act, and not upon the kind of evidence that produced it. You pretend that the manner in which the knowledge was conveyed affects the merits of the question. This appears to me a quibble—a subterfuge—a poor and pitiful attempt at consistency—a shift that has not even plausibility to support it—a topic of sophistry that may serve to eke out a speech, and give the stress of argument to nonsense. Does any man think, in the sincerity of his heart, that the publication of my proceedings renders me a worthy object of presbyterial reprobation? I will submit, as I am bound to do, to the warrantable decisions of my superior court, and I will only ask one question,—Is this the way to extend my usefulness, or to heighten the efficacy of my instructions? Will this advance the interests of religion, to attach an undeserved stigma to one of its ministers, to cover him with infamy, or render him the object of hasty and precipitate reprobation?"

APPENDIX F.—P. 94.

"There is almost no consumption of intellectual effort in the peculiar employment of a minister. The great doctrines of revelation, though sublime, are simple. They require no labour of the midnight oil to understand them—no parade of artificial language to impress them upon the hearts of the people. A minister's duty is the duty of the heart. It is his to impress the simple and home-bred lessons of humanity and justice, and the exercises of a sober and enlightened piety. It is his to enlighten the sick-bed of age and of infirmity; to rejoice in the administrations of comfort; to maintain a friendly intercourse with his people, and to secure their affections by what no art and no hypocrisy can accomplish—the smile of a benevolent countenance, the frank and open air of an undissembled honesty. The usefulness of such a character as this requires no fatiguing exercise of the understanding to support it; no ambitious display of learning or of eloquence; no flight of mysticism; no elaborate discussion; no jargon of system or of controversy. What can we find in the peace and piety of a minister's retirement to withdraw his attention from the exalted occupations of philosophy; that philosophy which the light of mathematical science unfolded to the immortal Newton; that philosophy which has introduced us into a new creation of order and magnificence; that philosophy which has opened up to us an immense theatre, where the divinity of wisdom presides, and worlds on worlds revolve in silent harmony; that philosophy which raises us in adoration to the Almighty Being, whose all-seeing eye

no variety can bewilder, whose care extends to the minutest of His works, and who, while He reigns in the highest heaven, can look down on earth, to revive the spirit of the desolate, and to enlighten the sick-bed of age and of infirmity? * * *

"Sir Isaac Newton has demonstrated to us the triumphs of the inductive philosophy when applied to the investigation of material phenomena. I will not pretend to say whether it is the same cautious and hesitating spirit of induction that has led Mr Playfair to his wonderful discovery, to this his curious and unexpected fact in the philosophy of the mind, to this stubborn peculiarity in the science of the mathematics, that it should deny every clergyman of the Church of Scotland access to its mysteries. The discovery of unexpected connexions is the evidence of original genius, and of a mind superior to the dull sobriety of vulgar apprehensions. Let Mr. Playfair go on and prosper. He has opened up to us a new and interesting field for original observation I would advise him not to stop short in the career he has so successfully begun. Go on, sir, and give us some more specimens of this magical and unheard of influence. Extend your observations to all the other trades and professions in the country, record their friendly and adverse tendencies to mathematical science; you have settled the clergymen; proceed in the plenitude of your sagacity, and give us your decisions upon the physician, the lawyer, the mole-catcher, the currier of leather, &c., &c, to the enrichment of the philosophy of mind, and the great edification of patrons to university livings in all future ages.

"To encourage Mr Playfair to attempt this new and unbeaten track of investigation, I shall unfold to him a discovery which has lately rewarded the patience and industry of my own inquiries, and promises the accession of a new set of phenomena to physical science. The author of this pamphlet, though a very young man, is old enough to have a beard, and that too of sufficient toughness and obstinacy to have seen out twelve pairs of razors since he commenced his series of inductive observations on the phenomena of shaving. The first circumstance that attracted his attention was the razor; and he has been laughed at for years by all his acquaintances for asserting that a razor with a yellow handle possesses more spirit, more smoothness, more temper, more durability, and more of all those virtues and qualifications which are set off with so much eloquence in Mr. Packwood's advertisement. But to silence all ridicule and sophistry on the subject, he fell on the following decisive experiment:—He took a blade of the best temper, wrested it of its yellow handle, got a watchmaker of careful execution to fasten a black handle in its place, and what is remarkable—from the very first moment of this melancholy transformation, the blade

exhibited symptoms of degeneracy; its spirit began to languish and decay; the beard of its unhappy master grew to the terror and admiration of his neighbourhood; till at last decency compelled him to condemn his favourite as a piece of old and useless iron, fit only for hire to kettle-menders, or for adding to the inventory of his lumber-room. I take the opportunity of thus announcing my discovery to the public, that it may at once establish my pretensions to original genius, and at the same time serve for the great edification of barbers and natural philosophers in all future ages. In appreciating the merits of these our respective discoveries, I cannot help thinking that it required nearly an equal effort of originality to arrive at them. I have discovered the secret and mysterious influence which connects the power and execution of the blade with the colour of the handle; and Mr. Playfair has discovered the no less incomprehensible influence which resides in the name, the vestments, or the situation of a clergyman—an influence that is able to obliterate the general characters of humanity, to extinguish all the fine ardours of literary ambition, and to palsy the energy of that mind on which the vigorous hand of nature had before impressed the rudiments of genius."

APPENDIX G.—P. 122.

"St. Andrews, *December* 7, 1801.

"Mr. Thomas Chalmers has long been known to me as a young man of uncommon talents and worth, as well as eminent attainments in literature and philosophy. During the course of his academical studies at the University of St. Andrews, he distinguished himself greatly in the various classes of that seminary, especially the mathematical, at that time under my direction, in which he acquitted himself with singular assiduity and success. Since that period, in order to enlarge his views and enrich his mind with the science and methods of other Universities, he has attended the lectures of the principal masters in that of Edinburgh, with much approbation and advantage, and he is at present with genius and ability investigating some of the difficult and interesting subjects of Philosophy and Political Economy. To great industry, ardour, and originality in the pursuits of science, he adds the most benevolent temper and dispositions, and his moral character is at once blameless, manly, and decisive. In conducting the studies of young men entrusted to his care, he has discovered excellent talents for simplifying and conveying instruction. In ability for composition, in fitness for unfolding science and its practical uses, in energy of thought and expression, in precision and clearness of ideas, in vigour and

ingenuity of conception, as well as powerful habits of abstraction and demonstration, I have reason to say, from frequent opportunities of conversing with him, that he has very few equals; and, upon the whole, he appears to me, in an uncommon degree, qualified in every respect for directing the education of youth in any department of literature where an intimate knowledge of mathematics and philosophy is required. JAMES BROWN."

APPENDIX H.—P. 222.

"Mr. Robert Mudie, who is alluded to in Mr. Chalmers' Journal as a visitor at the manse of Kilmany, was then a teacher in the Academy of Dundee, of which Mr. Duncan was rector. He is rather remarkable as one of those men, not very rare in this country, who, though almost entirely self-taught, have, by the force of their genius and industry, raised themselves to considerable eminence in literature or science. He was the son of a country weaver, at a place about six or seven miles north-east of Dundee, where he was born about the year 1781, and where he received the humble rudiments of education at a country school. Leaving the school in early youth, he plied the loom for several years, until, being drawn for the militia service, he became a soldier for four years. From his earliest youth he discovered an insatiable desire for knowledge of every description, and all the hours which he could spare from the business of the weaver or the soldier he earnestly devoted to the perusal of books. He used to mention that, before he left home, he was much indebted to a gentleman who lent him some volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica, where he indulged at large his taste for variety, and that in the towns where his regiment was stationed he always contrived to find a good supply of books. By these means it happened that, by the time his militia service of four years expired, he had acquired so much knowledge that he was emboldened to undertake the duties of a village school in the south of Fife. His quickness of apprehension was great, and his memory extraordinary, so that his knowledge was very various, indeed almost universal. Besides other accomplishments, he had acquired considerable skill in the art of drawing, a respectable acquaintance with arithmetic and mathematics, and great facility in English composition. He also wrote verses with ease. He was soon appointed to the situation of drawing-master in the Academy of Inverness, and afterwards in that of Dundee, where he was not long in being transferred to the more intellectual department of arithmetic, theoretical and practical, and English composition. He remained for ten or twelve years

in Dundee, where, beside his occupation as a teacher, he contributed much to the local newspaper, conducted for some time a monthly periodical, published a novel, and, becoming a member of the Town-Council, engaged fiercely in the cause of Borough reform. His pen was very satirical, and procured him many enemies. He at last left Dundee for London, where he could find employment for his talents as a littérateur. There he lived entirely by his pen. At first he acted as a reporter to the newspapers of the debates in Parliament. He afterwards extended his field, engaging in all such works as, by the popular interest of the subjects, might be likely to prove remunerative. In this most laborious course of life he became a very voluminous author. Perhaps his works that excited greatest interest were—'The Modern Athens,' 'Babylon the Great,' and 'Feathered Tribes of the British Islands.' With all his industry and talent, he was constantly in poverty; and he died, exhausted by his mode of life, before he reached the age of sixty, leaving the widow of a second marriage in poor circumstances."—*MS. Memoranda of Professor Duncan.*

APPENDIX I.—P. 262.

TEXTS FROM THE JOURNAL.—*Sept* 30*th*, 1812—*Sept.* 3*d*, 1813.

"Matthew i. 23; ii. 10; iii. 17; iv. 10; v. 44; vi. 14, 15; vii. 7, 8; viii. 2, 3; ix. 6; x. 32; xi. 27; xiii. 46; xiv. 27; xv. 8; xvi. 23; xvii. 20; xviii. 15; xix. 6; xx. 26, 27; xxi. 22; xxii. 37; xxiii. 37; xxiv. 44; xxv. 40; xxvi. 41; xxvii. 54; xxviii. 18.

"Mark i. 17; ii. 17; iii. 35; iv. 40; v. 19; vi. 50; vii. 7; viii. 34; ix.; x. 52; xi. 23; xii. 30; xiii. 37; xiv. 38; xv. 39; xvi. 16.

"Luke i. 74, 75; ii. 14; iii. 8; iv. 4; v. 12, 13; vi. 46; vii. 47; viii. 21; ix. 23; x. 20; xi. 13; xii. 15; xiii. 34; xiv. 33; xv. 7; xvi. 13; xvii. 10; xviii. 1; xix. 10; xx. 35; xxi. 33; xxii. 19; xxiii. 34; xxiv. 49.

"John i. 12; ii. 25; iii. 6; iv. 24; v. 23; vi. 37; vii. 38, 39; viii. 31, 32; ix. 41; x. 27, 28; xi. 25, 26; xii. 26; xiii. 34; xiv. 13; xv. 2; xvi. 14; xvii. 20; xviii. 11; xix. 30; xx. 31; xxi. 19.

"Acts i. 11; ii. 33; iii. 26; iv. 12; v. 31; vi. 3; vii. 59; viii. 5; ix. 36; x. 43; xi. 18; xii. 24; xiii. 38, 39; xiv. 22; xv. 9; xvi. 30, 31; xvii. 27, 28; xviii. 27; xix. 20; xx. 32; xxi. 19; xxii. 16; xxiii. 1; xxiv. 16; xxv. 25; xxvi. 18; xxvii. 25; xxviii. 31.

"Romans i. 16; ii. 2; iii. 21-26; iv. 20, 21; v. 1, 2; vi. 1, 2; vii. 24, 25; viii. 1; ix. 16; x. 11; xi. 6; xii. 1; xiii. 8; xv. 13; xvi. 20.'

"I. Corinthians i. 9; ii. 14; iii. 22, 23; iv. 7; v. 8; vi. 19, 20; vii. 32; viii. 3; ix. 24; x. 13; xi. 26; xii. 3; xiii. 7; xiv. 40; xv. 58; xvi. 13, 14.

" II. Corinthians i. 24 ; ii. 16 ; iii. 5 ; iv. 18 ; v. 17 ; vi. 2 ; vii. 1 ; viii. 9 ; ix. 7 ; x. 4 ; xi. 2 ; xii. 9 ; xiii. 5.

" Galatians i. 4 ; ii. 20 ; iii. 26 ; iv. 19 ; v. 16 ; vi. 14.

" Ephesians i. 13, 14 ; ii. 18 ; iii. 12 ; iv. 26 ; v. 2 ; vi. 10.

" Philippians i. 11 ; ii. 12, 13 ; iii. 13, 14 ; iv. 6.

" Colossians i. 14 ; ii. 6, 7 ; iii. 2 ; iv. 12.

" I. Thessalonians i. 4 ; ii. 12 ; iii. 13 ; iv. 3 ; v. 23.

" II. Thessalonians i. 11 ; ii. 10 ; iii. 5.

" I. Timothy i. 15 ; ii. 5 ; iii. 13 ; iv. 15, 16 ; v. 22 ; vi. 17.

" II. Timothy i. 7 ; ii. 24 ; iii. 15 ; iv. 2.

" Titus i. 7 ; ii. 11-14 ; iii. 2.

" Philemon 5.

" Hebrews i 3 ; ii. 3 ; iii. 6 ; iv. 16 ; v. 14 ; vi. 12 ; vii. 2 ; viii. 10 ; ix. 28 ; x. 23 ; xi. 6 ; xii. 28 ; xiii. 5, 6.

" James i. 12 ; ii. 10 ; iii. 17 ; iv. 11 ; v. 8.

" I. Peter i. 13 ; ii. 2 ; iii. 13 ; iv. 11 ; v. 7.

" II. Peter i. 10 ; ii. 20 ; iii. 14.

" I. John i. 9 ; ii. 3 ; iii. 3 ; iv. 19 ; v. 11.

" II. John 6

" III. John 11.

" Jude 24.

" Revelation i. 5, 6 ; ii. 7 ; iii. 1 ; iv. 11 ; v. 12 ; vi. 17 ; viii. 4 ; ix. 4 ; x 7 ; xi. 15 ; xii. 10 ; xiii. 10 ; xiv. 12 ; xv. 3 ; xvi. 7 ; xvii. 14 ; xviii. 8 ; xix. 6 : xx. 13 : xxi. 3 : xxii. 14."

APPENDIX K.—P. 265.

" The Fifeshire Auxiliary Bible Society was originated about this period i[n] Cupar, and, as was to be expected, Mr. Chalmers lent it his vigorous aid Admiring the system of penny-a-week subscriptions for that and simila[r] institutions, which had been suggested and acted upon, a short time before by some maid-servants in Aberdeen, and which put it within the reach o[f] every class to contribute to the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, an[d] was likely to bring in far more to the Christian treasury than the annua[l] guinea or five guinea subscription of the more wealthy, he established a branch association in his parish in aid of the Bible Society, in which I ha[d] the privilege of co-operating as its original secretary. * * * The Aber-deen Servants' Association now referred to was established on 16th August 1809. The constitution of the Society was to admit as members 'such

female servants of decent character, and other females of good report, of different religious denominations, as might be inclined to join them.' Each member was to 'pay 1s. on admission, and the like sum, or what she could afford, at each quarterly meeting afterwards, to the funds.' Ministers favourable to the Society were invited to attend the quarterly meetings to give necessary information and advice; and in February 1811 there were 110 members, meeting statedly on the first Wednesday of August, November, February, and May. Their first donation of £20 was given to the Edinburgh Bible Society, and about the same time £20, 1s. was given to aid the Missionaries at Serampore in translating the Scriptures. This is understood to be the *first* association of adult females for promoting the object of the Bible Society, although its remittances were not limited exclusively to that institution, but occasionally aided the funds of various Missionary and School Societies. From August 1809 to March 1820, the aggregate amount of their subscriptions exceeded £220, and the number of subscribers at the latter date was about 150. The rule as to contributions was afterwards modified to the payment by each member of one penny a week. They met at a stated hour every Saturday evening, and each paid her penny; and such was their punctuality, that though many of them came from a distance, the time occupied in the payment seldom exceeded five minutes. This plan so pleased Dr. Chalmers that he determined to act on it in his parish to the very letter. The subscriptions were limited to a penny a week; and if any wished to give more, they might do it by way of donation, or in the name of other members of their family. In this he set an example, for besides giving his own name and that of his sister, who then kept his house, I think he added the names of all his brothers and sisters as subscribers. I do not remember how much was raised during the first year, but I know the amount collected by myself was very considerable, and encouraged him to recommend the adoption of the principle over the length and breadth of the land, as by far the most efficient means for the raising of funds, and as giving an opportunity to the humblest to contribute—an element in the plan to which he attributed the very greatest importance."—*MS. Memoranda by the Rev. Dr. Brown of Brampton.*

Upon submitting a proof of the Journal of this period to the Rev. James Borwick of Rathillet, he has made upon it the following remarks :—

"As the pages I read were, if I mistake not, consecutive, and as it would seem they include all that you have felt it necessary to say about the Kilmany Bible Society—at all events, down to the time of Mr. Johnstone's death—I fear the information you have obtained on that subject is limited.

I would not like to see the palmy days of Kilmany so represented, or the ministers whose co operation and zeal tended so much to the prosperity of the above institution brought before the public eye only, or almost only, in the light of what would appear to have been some misunderstanding. I am quite safe to say, that whatever may have been the offence, if any, on the one side, or the unpleasant feeling on the other, it must all have been amicably adjusted by the parties themselves. It never rose above the surface. The Kilmany Bible Society was a model for its peacefulness. It embraced all parties in the parish and some of the members of Mr. Johnstone's congregation in other parishes, and its machinery was the best that could have been obtained. Under the influential presidency of the late Mr. Gillespie of Mountquhannie, an Episcopalian, who was ever at his post, and delighted to witness the harmony which his presence was well fitted to promote; with Mr. Edie, Kilmany, a churchman, and Mr. Anderson, Star, a seceder, as respectively treasurer and secretary—farmers who are still spoken of as having been 'walking Cyclopædias;' with the alternate meetings at Kilmany and Rathillet, the addresses of the ministers of both places, still held in lively remembrance, and the amount contributed in this thinly populated district, rising some years to about £40, the Kilmany Bible Society was, in the share in which the Doctor had in it, perhaps the first fruit which his parish, as a whole, afforded of his changed ministrations, and is still spoken of as having been one of the best monuments of his zeal and success while here.

"I may mention that a manuscript copy of one of his addresses to the Society is in the possession of the present Mr. Gillespie of Mountquhannie. I may also state, as showing the kindred feeling of Mr. Johnstone in regard to such schemes of Christian enterprise, that he preached the sermon before 'The Dundee Society for propagating the Gospel among the heathen,' at its first general meeting, 18th October 1796—a sermon which was published at the request and for the benefit of the Society.

"The Kilmany Society was in some measure broken up shortly after Dr. Chalmers left the parish. There was a want of co-operation, I need not say more as to the cause, and after a considerable time it ceased to exist. Within the period of my own ministry here, there were magazines sent to me, and addresses to the Society, from the Moravian and Scottish Missionary Societies This was owing, I believe, to the fact, that after the Society had virtually ceased, its spirit was alive in some measure in this congregation and in individuals in the district, and that, conjunctly, they forwarded occasional contributions; and I can add, that to the impulse formerly given by the Society to the cause of Christian union, is to be traced to a great

extent the harmony which is now manifested in the neighbourhood in our Tract Society and Sabbath Alliance. It would be easy, indeed, to show this in various ways, and in some cases to find the good influence handed down from father to son."

APPENDIX L.—P. 397.

"I do not stop a moment at the consideration, that though we should exclude Mr. Ferrie from the charge of Kilconquhar, the Court of Session would find him to be legal proprietor of the stipend. Should this ever be suffered to enter as an element into our deliberations, we would be fallen indeed. It is our part to walk in our integrity, nor to suffer the allurement of civil advantages, or the threat of civil deprivations, to divert us by a single inch from the onward path which lies before us. When we exclude a man from the charge of a parish, we do it on grounds which are purely ecclesiastical. On these grounds we are the alone judges; and when the emoluments of the parish come to be talked of, I resent it in precisely the same way as I would resent an attempt to pervert my judgment by an act of bribery. Let the stipend go as it may, I would not suffer it to mingle its influence with our deliberations for a single moment. Whatever be our judgment on the present question, I should think it foul scorn if the stipend of Kilconquhar were to shake us out of it. This is a most degrading argument; it insults me. It is hanging up a scare-crow, and then bidding me look at it and be quiet. I shall suffer no authority on earth to lay such fetters upon my conscience; and sitting in judgment, as we do, Moderator, upon the interest and preparation of a whole people for another world, wo be to us if we flinch, by a single iota, from what is right, by the powers of this world being brought to bear upon us. What is the language addressed to us by such an argument? Gentlemen, you may vote out Mr. Ferrie if you like, but have a care, your Church will lose £300 a-year by it. There is bribery—unblushing bribery in the very sound of such an argument as this; but we may give up all our alarms, for it cannot hold. I am quite sure, if carried to the Court of ultimate appeal, it would not bear a moment's hesitation. The stipend is the minister's, and the minister is he, and he only, who comes in with the sanction of the Church judicatories. What a violent and unnatural spectacle! One man drawing the stipend of a parish because he has the patron's presentation; another administering the word and ordinances in virtue of another presentation issued by the Presbytery, and claimed by it in virtue of the *jus devolutum*. Oh, no! my

brethren, we may set ourselves at rest upon this score. There will be no such thing; and we may be assured that the Government of the country would as soon hang up the signal of its own dissolution as suffer so glaring an invasion upon one of its establishments."

APPENDIX M.—P. 402.

"By passing it into a law, that the same individual shall not hold at one time a professorship and a country living, you accomplish a great specific good; you avert a mischief from the Church which threatens to accumulate upon it; you do away one of the causes of non-residence; you put a decisive stop to a corruption which has crept among us of late years, and which, if suffered to extend itself much longer, will lose its novelty, and cease to alarm us. It is delightful to understand that such a tide of overtures upon this subject is pouring in upon the Assembly from all quarters of our establishment. It is indeed a refreshing spectacle, and recalls to my imagination the zeal and the purity of better days. It is something like the awakening of a righteous spirit amongst us, the breaking of that spell by which evil was held for good, and good for evil, by which principle and integrity on each side of the Church (for I am far from giving the monopoly of what is right to either) was held in abeyance, and all the distinctions of right and wrong lay buried and confounded under the odiousness of party denominations. I count it a healthful symptom to see such a breaking up upon this subject, to see the men who have stood so long in fronted opposition mingling around one common standard, and that hateful line which often separated the good and the wise from each other so crossed and recrossed in a thousand directions, so traversed and trodden under foot, so borne down by the step of daring adventurers, that every year it is getting more obliterated, and will in a little time vanish like the fiction of a day into everlasting forgetfulness.

"But while I rejoice in the prospect of a specific good, I totally dissent from that principle on which the passing of a law is deemed necessary in order to its accomplishment. I deny the necessity of such a law. I contend that there is a power in the Church to repress the abuse in question antecedently to the framing of any law upon the subject. This power belongs to her in virtue of her office as guardian of the interests of religion; and we have departed from the uniform practice of our Church, which for upwards of a century has sat and exercised her discretion on thousands and thousands of questions, and given her firm decision, without any thing in the

shape of written or express law to which she could refer, and upon the solitary principle of what she counted to be for the good of edification, has she times without number most confidently pronounced her judgments, and been as implicitly adhered to. I most cheerfully vote for a law, as in the present state of opinion it appeared to be the nearest and the likeliest way of quashing the corruption; but I solemnly protest against the principle of its indispensable necessity, and assert that those sons of the Church are making an unthinking surrender of its dearest privileges, who call out, 'Give us a law; we can do nothing without a law;' who leave us so unprovided with instruments for the defence of the trust committed to us, that if any unheard-of or unthought-of enormity shall be attempted, against which no positive statute could ever be devised, we must just look helplessly on, and bewail that there is no remedy. Oh, no! my brethren, there lies a power with us to repress the abuse at the very outset, to smother it in its infancy; and if this power be taken away, you leave us open and defenceless against the inroads of every abomination.

"There is no such thing as providing by law against all the contingencies of future days. Our ancestors never thought of it. They exerted the power of correcting every abuse instanter, and they bequeathed this power to their successors in office. Annihilate this power, and what do you land us in? We have already reaped some mischief from the suspension of it: That abuse against which you are now attempting to guard the Church in all time coming, you have suffered to fall with cruel severity upon several of its parishes. You have not stirred till you have seen the victims of your negligence strewed around you. You have imitated the misconduct of those who forbear to put a fence round the well till the body of a drowned man convinces them that they ought to do something. You are now constructing the fence, and I most willingly lend a helping hand to it; but if the law you are now framing be upon the principle that you can do nothing without a law, while you are doing away one solitary corruption, you are opening the door to a thousand. It is like building a fence round the well, but digging out the foundation of the house for materials." * * *

"So much for the effect of this new maxim; but let me carry your attention for a few moments to its principle. It appears to me, then, that it is altogether founded upon a delusive assimilation of an ecclesiastical court sitting in judgment upon its own proper questions, to a civil court sitting in judgment upon a question of property. It is right that the adjudication of property should be founded upon unvarying principles—upon statute-law as far as it can reach; and as no written code can provide for all varieties, its deficiencies are made up by common law, or the decisions upon

unprovided cases, pronounced as they occur by a court of equity. Hence every barrister in a court of justice has a right to demand for his client a most scrupulous adherence to law or to precedent; and I am too well aware of the influence of professional habit, to wonder that he should carry the same language and the same style of conception to the bar of the General Assembly. I have the highest respect for the legal profession; and I think that at this moment its honour is nobly sustained by the talent and eloquence and accomplished literature of the individuals who compose it. It is not them whom I blame, when I say that our proceedings are too much infected with the principles and the technology of another profession. It is the members of the General Assembly, who, forgetting their high functions, consent to be addressed as if they were a mere judicial court, sitting upon a question of property. We are guardians of the interests of religion; and the man who comes to our bar with a presentation to a living, has acquired no absolute right of property till he obtain our consent to his induction. A presentation carries along with it no absolute right of property; it is only a right of property with submission to the judgment of the Church. But, in the meanwhile, if we find something in the man's character or in the man's situation which we think to disqualify him for a useful minister in a parish, it is our part to find accordingly. Let lawyers expatiate as they will about law and about precedent, it should be no more to us than the gibberish of an unknown tongue. The legal principles which they apply to the maintenance of the shepherd, should not have the weight of a feather upon us when we are sitting in deliberation upon the interests of the flock. Our deliberations take the precedency of their reasonings altogether; and if we surrender our right to a veto upon every presentation that comes before us, we pull down the only effectual barrier against the corruption of our establishment.

"Oh! but let us retain the control, you may say. We can insist on obedience to our laws; and if we find the laws insufficient, we can make new ones. I am glad you admit thus much. Why, then, you give up the absolute right of the patron. When he gives away a presentation he gives only a conditional right of property, burdened to the presentee by the duty of obedience to the laws of the Church. I shall keep my finger upon this concession; and I find it peculiarly valuable when coupled with the undeniable right of the Church to make new laws. Upon what principle is a new law ever framed?—Doubtless, the good of religion. Who are the framers?—Members of the Church, consisting of ministers and elders. Are patrons ever consulted in the framing of laws?—In the whole progress of the business it is never thought of. Their concurrence is not asked; and should

they offer to interfere, the Church would rise in all the dignity of her offended privileges and resent their interference. What do you make, now, of the absolute right of patrons?—It is altogether a visionary principle. Every new law is a new limitation of the right of patronage. It is equivalent to the imposition of a new tax upon the property conveyed by it. It is a new exaction of obedience from all their presentees, and refusal would infer the deposition of those who are within the Church, and the exclusion of those who are entering it. Had we, without a law, refused to admit a presentee who was already a professor in a University, we would, no doubt, be cramping and limiting the patron in his right of patronage. But this is what we do every year. We are proposing to do it at this moment. Without asking the leave of any patron, we are for limiting the extent of their claim, and confining them to a narrower range for the exercise of their privileges. We are interdicting them not from one professor, but from all the professors of Scotland; and upon no other principle than that we judge it expedient, and for the good of religion, are we coming forward with an exercise of power, against which the right of the patron is nothing better than the bugbear of a name. * * *

"It will not bear a hearing, Moderator. Every judicial court must be furnished with powers adequate to the object for which it is sitting. In civil cases that object is the dispensation of justice. But justice would in many instances be delayed or defeated altogether if it was kept back from pronouncing upon the innumerable varieties which no written law can provide for, and compelled to wait till laws could be framed. When we sit as a judicial court, we must be furnished with powers adequate to the object for which we are sitting. That single object is the good of religion. But this object would also be delayed or defeated if, instead of pronouncing upon the unprovided case, we were to wait the circuitous process of framing new laws. No one expects of Parliament the construction of a code ample enough and varied enough to meet all conceivable variety of cases which come before a court of justice. A power of deciding on the principles of equity is, therefore, vested in that court, and it is to the continued exercise of this power that we owe the creation and yearly extension of common law. No man can expect of the General Assembly in its legislative capacity the construction of a code furnishing us with a written law for every case and question that comes before it. A power of deciding on the Christian principle of what we judge to be for the good of edification, and consonant to the spirit of our religion, is therefore vested in us when we sit in our judicial capacity. It is a power which has continued in vigorous and uninterrupted exercise for upwards of a century. It is found in practice that

we could not go on without it. Had it not been for this there could have been no such thing as precedents to appeal to; for how came a precedent into being but by virtue of a decision not founded on statute-law? To deny such a power is to belie the whole practice of the Church, as well as to reduce it to the helplessness of an infant; and I know not whether I should more lament the mischief of the maxim, or wonder at the crude and unfinished conception which lies at the bottom of it, or be indignant at its authority over the minds of my brethren, whom I have heard to exclaim, with such confidence and such frequency, 'Give us a law—we can do nothing without a law.'

"But, oh! you mistake us, it may be said, we acknowledge the authority of something else beside law; we give an authority to precedent also. You curtail our maxim, and do it an injustice. It is not that we can do nothing without law, but that we can do nothing without law or without precedent. And what is precedent, Moderator? It is a former decision founded upon that power of judging which I am all along contending for. At its first introduction there was no former precedent to sanction it. Now that it is found among us, let us pay it all due respect; but how, in the name of wonder, got it in? Every distinct precedent is a distinct something done by our forefathers without either law or precedent, and we who inherit the full power of our forefathers, will not be restrained from doing as they did. In every new case not within the scope of law or of precedent, we will pass our independent decision, and if we have no old precedent to follow, we will create a new one for the use of succeeding generations.

"I am sorry that I have taken up so much of your time, and to feel that so much of my argument still lies before me. I assert, upon the strength of the above considerations, that we have the power of deciding as we will upon every new case, though neither law nor precedent can be appealed to. I further assert, not that we can decide judicially against law, though in the practice of the Church this has been done so often as to render many of the unrepealed laws of the Church a dead letter; but I assert, perhaps to the astonishment of every civil practitioner, that he misunderstands the constitution of our Court, when he brings the authority of precedents to bear upon us, and says that we cannot and must not go against them. On the strength of what has been already said, I hold by the principle, that we could have prevented the first example of a plurality without the sanction of a previous and express ordinance upon the subject, and could then have acted without law. I now go further, and assert, that though two, three, or any number of examples may have been tolerated, we can by a simple judicial decision prevent the next which arises, and then act, not merely without law, but against precedent.

" It would detain you really too long for me to enter upon the principle of that division which exists in civil matters between the legislative and the judicial powers. It must be familiar to every student of general law, and is laid down with admirable brevity and distinctness by De Lolme in his treatise 'On the British Constitution.' Now, it must be obvious to all, that in our General Assembly there is no such division. There is a something in the nature of our business which makes it safe for us to dispense with it; and thus it is that the same body, according to the nature of the question which comes before it, sits at one time in a legislative and at another in a judicial capacity. What that something is may be collected from an example. Parliament, in virtue of its legislative power, imposes a tax upon window-light, and in the Act which it passes upon the subject, it may provide as many exemptions and modifications as it will. A question is started, whether the Members themselves are obliged to pay this tax? This question would not come before Parliament. Though this body have the power of framing the law, they have not the power of interpreting the law. The latter power lies with a judicial Court, and the members of our legislature must stand at the bar of such a Court on the same footing with the meanest subject of the land. It is clear as day, that if endowed with the office of interpreting their own laws, there would be a temptation to laxity too strong for poor human nature to be entrusted with; that if, along with the power of enacting, they had also the power of administering, they would find out for themselves a way of escaping, and would therefore feel no restraint in laying on the most oppressive and iniquitous regulations upon the rest of their fellow-subjects—they would not care how heavy the burden was which, in their legislative capacity, they laid upon the shoulders of their countrymen, so long as they could contrive, in their judicial capacity, to be saved from the task of touching one of them with their own fingers; and thus, while they enslaved others, they could, by their judgments, render themselves independent of the laws which they had made.

" Now, this does not apply to the enactments of the General Assembly. In this land of toleration the people can at all times withdraw themselves from the government of the Church; and its clergy, if they dared to move a single inch beyond the line which separates justice from oppression, may find themselves abandoned by all but the members of their own body. It is true, that there is a risk of their being too indulgent to themselves in their judicial decisions. And so they would, if they had a secular interest to gain by it. I would not trust them, for example, with the question about window-lights more than I would trust Parliament. But I would trust them with the question about Professorships—I would trust them

with the questions about clerical character and clerical employments—I would trust them, in short, with all those spiritual questions of Church regulation and discipline which properly belong to them, on every one of which the vast majority are exempted from all personal feeling, and where popularity, and reputation, and a natural sense of justice all concur in urging them to a righteous decision.

"In the case before us, indeed, the clergy, with a spirit which does them immortal honour, were moving in a direction opposite to their own interests. If the decision had been purely theirs, they would have put down the pluralities long ago, and have proved to the world how safely the union of legislative and judicial powers might be confided to them. The mischief arising from such a union is, that a leaning to our own interests may pervert our judgments; and when lawyers, animated with the sacredness of principle, lift their voice against such a corruption as this, I welcome their presence here as the auspicious symptom of purity to our Establishment. But, in point of fact, the tendencies of the clergy were disinterested, and nothing would have arrested their righteous decision, had not law, with all the forms of its confounding phraseology, bewildered them. They misunderstood their own powers, and got perplexed with the nomenclatures of another profession. They have been most provokingly puzzled out of their senses, and, like a non compos, have resigned the management of their affairs into other hands. * * *

"I am sure that the gentlemen of the law understand me. I bear upon my heart no disrespect or resentment for any of them. It is not against their appearance within these walls as men and as members of this Court that I am lifting my voice. It is against the misapplication of the principles of one department to the business of another; and many of this honourable profession prove, by their speeches and their votes, that they feel and disown the errors of such a misapplication. I will not say for the gentlemen of our profession that we discern the misapplication; but I am sure that we feel it. I am confident that I speak to the feeling and experience of the vast majority of clergymen amongst us, when I assert as a fact that the business of the one profession has been shackled and constrained, and brought into a state of most unnatural bondage by the principles of another. Now, is this right? Must not there be a deviation somewhere from the original purposes of our judicatories, if a clergyman with abundance of scripture, and abundance of common sense, feels himself thrown out of the concern, and the whole is left to the management of other hands? There must be something wrong when a member, with the common accomplishments and the common education of a clergyman, is not qualified to share in the busi-

ness of clergymen. I maintain that the same faith and the same Bible, which carry him with honour and effect through the business of his parish, should enable him to sustain his part in any one business which a clergyman has to meddle with. If he is not able, then it is because the business has been most unnaturally refined away from him. It is because it has been perverted into other channels; and he, to follow it, must find his way through all the intricacies of another profession. This is a fact which speaks for itself. It may call for a high reach of sagacity to assign the rationale of the fact, or to analyze it into its original elements. But the fact itself is obvious as the light of day. I am conscious of the odour of another profession in this place; and I see the ascendency of its peculiar principles as clearly with the eye of my mind, as I see at this moment the peculiar habiliment of this profession with the eye of my body. It stares me in the face that the affairs of the profession of divinity are not managed by divines but by lawyers; and upon this broad and undeniable fact I make the confident affirmation that there is something wrong in the principle and philosophy of the whole business. * * *

"Yes, it is a vile and unnatural oppression; and nature will not long sustain this outrage upon all its principles. I anticipate the day when the members of this Church will no longer suffer themselves to be quirked out of all their senses, when every head shall be freed from the bamboozlements of legal sophistry; and, nobly clearing our way from the trammels which have kept down every generous aspiring, we shall recover the tone and the elasticity of independent men. Then you may think that the Church will be the prey of every fluctuation. She will not. Her security lies in her constitution. I maintain that you will find a greater uniformity in the proceedings of 300 men at liberty to obey their own honest suggestions on every question that comes before them, than when under the guidance of a set of factitious principles which may be dexterously accommodated to every interest and to every opinion."

APPENDIX N.—P. 437.

"EDINBURGH, *November* 14, 1849.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I shall now put in writing to you what I consider the most interesting anecdote I ever heard regarding Dr. Chalmers. I first heard it narrated upwards of thirty years ago, when it was not uncommon for our moderate clergy to say, 'Oh, as for Chalmers, he is mad!'

"A gentleman and his wife, one Sabbath, going to church in Glasgow,

met a friend who spoke to them, and inquired where they were going. They said, 'To hear Dr. Chalmers.' He said, 'What! to hear that madman?' They said, if he would agree to go with them, and hear Dr. Chalmers for once, and if, after that, he persisted in talking in such a manner of him, they would never dispute the matter with him again. He accompanied them; and, singular to relate, it happened that, when Dr. Chalmers entered the pulpit that day, he gave out as his text, 'I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of soberness and truth;'* and the gentleman, who I rather think was a medical man, became from that day a changed man,—a convert to evangelical Christianity. I had often heard and related this story without being able to authenticate it, till, on happening to mention it to my friend Dr. Welsh, he told me that he knew it to be *perfectly authentic*, and knew who the party was. I was delighted with this confirmation of the story, as I think it one of the most interesting anecdotes in modern biography.—I am, yours ever,

"*To Dr. Hanna.* JOHN ANDERSON."

APPENDIX O.—P 440

The letter which has given occasion to the present brief notice of its author indicates, in a way scarcely to be mistaken, that he was not an ordinary or everyday man. Those who had the privilege of knowing Dr. Jones with any degree of intimacy, look back to the period when they enjoyed it with special interest and delight; for there was a charm about him which belongs not to many of those acquaintanceships or friendships, which, during even a lifetime, one has the opportunity of forming.

He was, without question, a person of great natural genius, and of rare gifts—and eminently a man of God His character has been faithfully pourtrayed by two of his clerical friends, who well knew his talents and his worth—the Rev. Dr. Hunter, minister of the Tron Church, Edinburgh, and the Rev. Dr. Makellar, then minister of Pencaitland—in the discourses which they delivered to the congregation of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel immediately after his death, and which were published at the time. And nothing more is here intended than to preserve a few additional reminiscences of an individual, between whom and Dr. Chalmers there subsisted a strong reciprocal regard—who spent a most useful life at a very interesting period in the religious history of Scotland, and who, with an eagle eye, discerned the influence which Dr. Chalmers was destined to exercise upon that history. The recollection is still fresh of a meeting between them,

* *Posthumous Works*, vol. vi. pp. 204-219.

which took place some considerable time after Dr. Chalmers had been settled in Glasgow, and when a pause had occurred in their intercourse. As soon as Dr. Jones entered the room, Dr. Chalmers rose from his chair with a spring of delight, which found instant utterance in his well-remembered exclamation—the characteristic and expressive *Ha, ha!* with which he so often greeted his friends—and advanced to meet him; while Dr. Jones, placidly coming up, returned the pressure of his hand, and then broke forth —"Thomas Chalmers! Thomas Chalmers! to see you again—to meet you once more—is as life from the dead!"

After alluding to a few circumstances in his early history, some of the features in the general character of Dr. Jones may here be recalled, and then one or two of those which he exhibited as the paster of the congregation to whom he was so long the minister of God for good.

It may be said of Dr. Jones that he was an Englishman all through, and a Scotsman all over. He never lost the original impress of the former, nor failed in manifesting his perfect identification with the interests and feelings of the latter. Born in the city of Gloucester in 1754, and deprived of both his parents while yet a child, he was early cast upon the care of strangers. Perhaps this circumstance (for he never ceased to feel the influence of early impressions) may have led to the deep interest which he took in the Orphan Hospital of Edinburgh, the inmates of which formed for a long time part of his congregation. At first he was designed for a secular employment, and had actually entered upon it, when, having been thrown into the society of some members of the Methodist body, his mind became so deeply impressed with the momentous bearing of Divine things, and so infused with earnest zeal for the salvation of his fellow-men, that he abandoned his worldly prospects and pursuits, and resolved to consecrate himself to the ministry of the gospel. With this view he was introduced to Lady Huntingdon, and at the age of eighteen entered the academy instituted by her at Trevecca, near Brecknock, in Wales.

His introduction to Lady Glenorchy was one of those remarkable events in Providence which distinguished his life. He was invited to accompany a young gentleman residing at Plymouth to Exeter, on a visit to a pious and wealthy friend of the name of Holmes, where he found that Lady Glenorchy, then at Exeter, was expected to join the party at dinner. This led to his becoming acquainted with that lady, by whom he was requested to conduct family worship at her lodging on the same evening, which he did, and afterwards regularly officiated as her domestic chaplain at Plymouth, where for a time she had taken up her residence. His introduction to Lady Glenorchy was thus brought about, as he himself said, "by what

some would call *accident*, but which I call a very peculiar and gracious Providence," on which nearly all his usefulness and comfort, during a long life, were afterwards found to turn.

His sphere of duty being thus transferred from England to Scotland, it ever afterwards became his home. And although he knew not a single individual excepting Lady Glenorchy to the north of the Tweed, yet there it was that he was destined to obtain a large spiritual inheritance. After a severe struggle with the Church Courts, some details of which are given by Dr. Jones himself in his "Life of Lady Glenorchy," * she succeeded in getting the chapel she had erected in Edinburgh placed upon a footing which was likely to secure its permanent usefulness, and after the failure of several attempts to obtain for it a stated pastor, in finally getting Dr. Jones settled as minister of her chapel on the 25th July 1779, he having been previously ordained by the Scotch Presbytery of London. And in this most honourable office he continued till his death on the 3d March 1837—a period of nearly fifty-eight years, during which, until his last illness seized him, he was never, for any length of time, laid aside by indisposition, and in which he laboured with the greatest fidelity and acceptance.

His talent and aptitude for the exposition and illustration of Divine truth were no doubt the principal causes of his success, in collecting and maintaining a large and steady congregation. But adventitious circumstances at the time also tended to promote this result. Evangelical religion was then very far from being popular in Edinburgh, or in Scotland. So much was it generally discountenanced in the land, that to proclaim earnestly the doctrines of the Cross was the sure way to fix the brand of fanaticism on the preacher. Yet there was then (as in the worst of times

* It may not be here wholly out of place to relate an anecdote of this time, which, we believe, has never been recorded. It forms a counterpart to the feelings of jealousy which exist in some quarters in regard to the juxtaposition of places of worship. The erection of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel had been viewed with suspicion by many of the ministers of Edinburgh, as likely to tend to the diminution of their own congregations—some of them already scanty enough. After their objections on this score had been stated in the Presbytery, Dr. Dick, minister of Trinity College Church, delivered his sentiments, and concluded thus—"You are afraid that your present hearers may be drawn away from you by the getting up of this chapel! Who has such reason to apprehend this result as I have, whose church is but a few yards removed from the site of the new erection? But why do my people come to the College Church? I do trust that it is to hear the gospel. And why will they go to Lady Glenorchy's Church? In order also to hear the gospel, where I have no doubt it will be faithfully preached! If, therefore, the gospel be preached, whether it be in my church or in the one that shall be contiguous to it—therein I do rejoice, yea, and will rejoice!"

there has always been) a hidden body of true Christians, who, relishing the deep, doctrinal, and experimental discourses which were delivered in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, found, under its roof, a magnet whose attraction they were unable to resist; and who adopted it as their stated place of worship. A considerable time before this, Mr. Whitefield had, for some summers, preached in a field immediately adjoining the spot where Lady Glenorchy's Chapel was built, and had given a great impulse to the cause of evangelical truth in Edinburgh, as well as in other parts of Scotland, of which much still remained. And it may be noticed, that at a subsequent period, other eminent men from England, of the same stamp, occasionally found—in consequence of the strictness of ecclesiastical law and other circumstances,—that Lady Glenorchy's Chapel was the only place of worship in the metropolis of Scotland, at all in connexion with the Established Church, to which access could be obtained for those who had not been ordained within its pale.' Following up this remark, an anecdote from the lips of Dr. Jones himself may here be related, which he told with peculiar zest and animation.

The Hon. and Rev. Mr. Cadogan had come on a visit to Edinburgh, and his religious friends were desirous of finding an opportunity for his preaching in some of the churches of the city. This they could only obtain in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel. Being a man of some rank, although of the evangelical school, certain of the *Philosophes* of Edinburgh, the aristocrats of literature, and the arbiters for the time in all matters of taste, would fain hear what the noble babbler would say. And so it happened, that three of them, without any preconcerted arrangement, were found, one strange Sabbath morning, sitting together in the same pew of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel—two of them being connected with the University. The service being over, one of them repaired to the residence of another member of the same brotherhood, a lawyer of great metaphysical reputation, who had not been present at Mr. Cadogan's sermon, and to whom he was anxious to give some account of the discourse to which he had been listening. "Well, A—," said he, "where do you think I have been this morning?" "Really I cannot say," replied his friend; "but from your manner I should judge that it must have been some place very unusual for you! Have you been *at church?*" "Yes, I have; and where think you? I have been in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, where I went to hear Cadogan!" "Have you really; and what did he say?" "Why, he said this, that if we did not believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, we should all be damned!" "Did he, indeed; did he actually say that, and without an apology?" "Yes, even without the slightest apology!"

This story is both characteristic of the age in which the incident occurred, and a fair example of numberless anecdotes with which the conversation of Dr. Jones abounded, and which he related with exquisite effect. His memory retained all that he had ever read, heard, or witnessed, and when the season was appropriate, and he was in the vein, he gave forth its stores in full flow and succession. Often of an evening, when unbent and wholly at his ease, did he coil himself up in the corner of his chair, and, with his eyes shut, pour out a stream of anecdote and rich remark, in comparison with which we can almost suppose even the conversations of Coleridge to have been insipid. For there was a natural glow and fire, a power and lustre of imagination, that made everything he described appear bright, and shot at once through the whole soul of the listener. The leading events in the history of all his former companions and friends were faithfully chronicled in his mind, as well as the circumstances connected with public men and public events, and not a few connected with King George the Third, for whom he had a great veneration—all of which he would detail, accompanied with some original observation, or some lively sally of wit. Even in his later years, this faculty was in lively exercise in the circle of his private friends. There are those who remember him, in his pleasant cottage at Libberton Tower, where he spent some of the last summers of his life, recounting with extraordinary naiveté and glee the adventures, or the dexterous doings during a day, of his active friend and former colleague, for whom he entertained a great regard, Dr. James Begg, now minister of the Free Church at Newington, when that energetic person had less on hand than lately, of the public affairs of the Church, and the sanitary circumstances of the people.

In the constitution of Dr. Jones' mind, as in every fine thing, there were strong contrasts, but all in the best keeping. He was deeply thoughtful and grave, and yet there was a spring and vitality about him which flew out towards the mastery of everything, and the enjoyment of everything—an insatiable curiosity, yet a shrinking modesty and delicate sensibility, which, together with his quiet manner, formed a most attractive combination. The unbending sovereignty of principle was united in him with the tenderness and simplicity of childhood—the boldest and most fearless integrity in harmony with the highest refinement of feeling, and a degree of diffidence which served but the more to bring out the strong colourings of his character. In his mode of dealing with anything, or with anybody, there were no tortuous paths, no sinuosities or crookednesses, no temporizing or truckling ; all was straightforward, transparent, and sincere. He knew no art but that of silence, and yet, as to any Jesuitical concealments

he abhorred them. This it was that earned for him such a degree of respect and confidence as he acquired; and when a mutual confidence was established between him and any one, he was the very soul of friendship. In his general demeanour, too, there was that true politeness which is the happy mixture of intelligence and benignity, and which has been termed "the sunshine of the soul on the words and actions,"—securing for him the utmost deference in the best circles of society.

Notice has been taken of the principle of curiosity which was powerfully manifested in the character of Dr. Jones—the keen desire to search into everything that invited his inspection, or met his eye; and certainly this was a remarkable feature in his constitution. He has been known to pass hours in his study, investigating some minute fact in history that had been hid amidst the rubbish of ages, or extricating some deep and difficult problem; and then when he walked out, you might come upon him as he stood, with his glass at his eye, anxiously striving to decipher the emblazonment on some nobleman's carriage; scrutinizing, with critical nicety, the work, it might be, of the paviers who were repairing the street; or patiently watching the movements of some urchin beggar, as he plied his vocation from door to door.

Allusion has also been made to his vitality—the full and elastic play of life that showed itself so strongly in him. As an example of this, without derogating from his character, an incident may be mentioned, which occurred now more than forty years ago. Dr. Jones had then occasion to visit London, where he was about to place his eldest son in the banking-house of Mr. Thornton, and finding an agreeable companion for the journey in the late Mr. Robert Miller, the well-known bookseller, they agreed to travel together in a post-chaise. At one of their stoppages in England, after setting out with a fresh carriage, they found that there was something in the condition of their driver that rendered him incapable of guiding his horses. "So what did I do?" said Dr. Jones, when narrating the circumstance, "what did I do; but—as soon as I saw the precious pickle we were in, and after thinking a while—order the carriage to be stopped, then get out of it, bundle the post-boy inside with Mr. Miller and my son, mount the seat, and act the driver all the rest of the stage! But woe's me," he continued, "one can't tell what may betide him, and in what an awkward plight he may soon be found. For when we arrived at a large town at the end of the stage, and I was smartly whipping up my steeds into the court-yard of the principal inn, I perceived a number of reverend and withal jolly-looking fellows eyeing me from the upper windows, and even overheard some of their jibes at the appearance I made. I soon found that there had

been on that day in the town some great convocation of the clergy, who, after transacting their business, were waiting impatiently for their dinner, and during that time of painful suspense chose to amuse themselves with what was passing below, and with cracking their jokes upon the new arrival, and the party that emerged from the vehicle I had driven up. Little wot they," he added, with a twinkle of his sparkling eye, "that the Jehu they beheld was one of their own fraternity, and a parson like each of themselves!"

In his political views, Dr. Jones was a decided Tory. But he never gave offence by the expression of his opinions, and avoided all participation in any of the public movements of the exciting times in which he lived. At the period of the trial of Queen Caroline, he was greatly interested in the issue of that event, and in private energetically expressed, from a close investigation of the published evidence, the clear decision at which he had arrived, and his approbation of the conduct of Government, and especially of the part which the Lord Chancellor Eldon acted in that affair. Again, in 1827, he was vehemently opposed to the granting of Catholic Emancipation—deeply lamenting the dangerous liberality, as he thought it, of many of his friends in regard to that measure, and predicting the coming of a time when they would sorely rue their approval and defence of it. In 1832 there arose the only occasion on which, publicly and ostensibly, Dr. Jones took any share in the controversies of the day, when at a meeting which was held in Edinburgh, to oppose the Government plan for Education in Ireland—a subject on which he felt very strongly—he commenced his speech with the following introduction:—"I have been an inhabitant and a minister of this city between fifty and sixty years. During the long period of my life, it has pleased Providence to allow me to witness some of the most important events that have taken place in the world, or which are recorded in the page of history; and during that time, many meetings of my fellow-citizens have taken place, to express their sentiments on a great variety of subjects. But although I have now arrived at the very verge of eighty years, I stand up to make my *maiden* speech at a public meeting." ! !

Although, from his position as the minister of Lady Glenorchy's Chapel, Dr. Jones was not a member of any of the ecclesiastical Courts, at least until the year 1834, when the Chapel Act was passed by the General Assembly—after which, but only once, he took his place in the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as the senior minister, although the youngest member of it—yet he had his eye ever awake to all that was going on, and evinced the liveliest concern in all the proceedings of the Church and of her judicatories. He was scarcely absent from any important debate in the meetings of the

General Assembly, and was always united with his brethren in the ministry in their private communings and consultations about whatever was likely to promote the interests of religion, and the progress of the gospel. His chief associates during the middle period of his life were Mr. Paul of St. Cuthbert's, Mr. Black of Lady Yester's, Mr. Bonar of Cramond, Dr. Balfour of Glasgow, Dr. Andrew Hunter, Dr. Davidson, and Dr. Fleming of Edinburgh, and Dr. Colquhoun of Leith; and many precious seasons of intimate and useful intercourse did he hold with these chosen friends, the excellent ones of a former age.

With not a few of the members, and with the elders of his congregation also, he lived on terms of familiar and almost daily intercourse. It might truly be said, that he "dwelt among his own people." And his summer visits to their country residences, and to those of his other friends, were always seasons of peculiar vivacity and enjoyment. Entering with the keenest relish into all rural scenes and occupations—delighted with the inspection of every memorable district or curious spot—and quite in his element in the midst of a party of young persons, intent upon their spirited and exhilarating recreations, he, at such times, was the very life of the social circle, and the chief instrument of pervading it with a feeling of cheerful yet chastened sobriety, and of animated joy. At Melville Mill and Burntisland, at Swinton and Pencaitland, and at the manse of Erskine, when his friend Dr. Andrew Stewart resided there, many were the pleasant days which he passed in these hospitable homes, from which he always returned greatly invigorated and refreshed.

It was in his character as a minister and a preacher of the gospel, however, that the highest style of Dr. Jones was to be found, and that those surviving friends find the chief pleasure in preserving his memory, who can recall the fervour and fidelity with which he fulfilled the duties of his sacred office. His manner in preaching was no doubt peculiar. There were a rapidity of utterance and a variation in the tones of his voice which rendered necessary in his hearers some familiarity with them, in order to their following distinctly his pulpit discourses; but this was quickly attained, and was well worth the acquisition. His mode of lecturing, as it is termed in Scotland, or the expounding of considerable passages of Scripture in a regular course, was truly a model for this most useful exercise, which he uniformly divided into two parts in the forenoon service of each Sabbath, with an interval of worship between them. The first was strictly expository, the second wholly practical, in which were deduced, with most cogent application, the lessons of admonition and warning which the passage suggested. In this way he had gone over during the course of his ministry

a very large portion of the inspired volume; and his lectures on Daniel and Jonah, on the historical parts of the New Testament, and on the Book of the Revelation, are still remembered by many as having attracted peculiar attention.

In recalling his discourses generally, one vivid impression remains in the mind and memory—the proof which they afforded, speaking generally, of the inadequacy of human language to express the vastness and fulness of those conceptions which are formed within highly gifted minds, and the rapture with which they overflow. Sometimes in the higher flights which he took, the intellect and genius of Dr. Jones appeared, like the polished diamond, to catch each one of the surrounding rays, and to return them all in sparkling and coloured splendour. Labouring to convey his thoughts to others, he had frequently to coin or to create words, and to frame new idioms, which, though sometimes grotesque, were always intelligible. By reason of the lucid order which pervaded them, intelligible his discourses always were, as well as copious in matter, rich in illustration, and pointed, penetrating, and rousing in no ordinary degree. And, oh! such services as came from his lips at a communion table! No fine-spun and formal compositions, sapless and dry, but a few sentences of flaming eloquence, bursting from a soul all on fire with heavenly love, and instinct with the most elevated devotion—a few burning and brilliant thoughts and aspirations, thrown into the breast of the sincere communicant, with some kindly and encouraging words for the downcast and the weary, to send them away consoled and glad of heart. Dr. Jones was truly a master when presiding at such a solemn service as this, and was always peculiarly happy in conducting it, when at Cramond, and Markinch, and other places, he assisted his brethren in the exercises of a Communion Sabbath; of which seasons the recollection is still strong in the minds of some who were then in the first warm glow of their Christian experience.

In connexion with this point, it may be worth while to note an occasion when he was unexpectedly called upon to take the service of a communion table at Leith, which happened to be attended exclusively by a party of soldiers who were then quartered in the town. The appearance of these men, as they solemnly and orderly took their places around the table in their military dress, at once arrested the attention of Dr. Jones. He was absorbed in thought, and for a while was silent; and then commencing with an allusion to the strange sight that was before him—a company of men who had served their earthly king, and had now come to enlist under the banner of the King of kings, and to swear fealty to the Captain of their salvation—he pursued this analogy throughout the service with a



minuteness of detail and an impressive fervour which rivetted every ear, and deeply affected every heart.

But the space here allotted to this sketch of Dr. Jones has been more than exhausted, and it remains only, in a single sentence, to allude to his declining days.

Dr. Chalmers, it is known, frequently expressed a hope, that after the incessant labour and manifold agitations in which he had been involved, he might have the opportunity of passing his latter years in comparative leisure and retirement. In the inscrutable arrangements of an all-wise Providence, this was denied him. But to a great extent it was granted to Dr. Jones. Although till within a very few years of his death he was able to appear statedly in his pulpit, yet their concluding period was spent, and also enjoyed, in a calm and tranquil abstraction from the world, which nothing interrupted, save the change in the formal nature of the office which he held as a minister, consequent upon the "Chapel Act," and which certainly did somewhat agitate him for a time—but his declining years and his latter end were full of peace. It is delightful to think of such men, after the burden and heat of the day are over, being allowed to enjoy the evening of their life in serenity and repose.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned, that the only works which Dr. Jones published were his Sermon on the death of Lady Glenorchy—a volume of discourses which, (as in many similar instances,) however excellent, fail in conveying the impression made by them when they were delivered with all the fervour of his manner, and enriched as they were with frequent extempore illustrations, and many sudden and lofty flashes of imagination—and his "Life of Lady Glenorchy." As to this last and most interesting publication, a single remark may be permitted—that although the early life of Dr. Jones was closely interwoven with the circumstances of the narrative, yet such were the modesty and unobtrusiveness of the author, that very little will be found in it that related personally to himself—a fine contrast to many works written by those who were connected with the history they record, and in which the short word, and the long letter, *I*, is so redundant.

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